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THE STORY OF BENJAMIN DISRAELI

LORD BEACONSFIELD has been happy indeed in his biographers.¹ He died nearly forty years ago, and the two last volumes of the authorized *Life* were not published till a few weeks ago; but Mr. Monypenny and his friend and successor, Mr. Buckle, have given the world a fascinating and illuminating study of one of the most remarkable and most gifted in our noble line of Prime Ministers. Thackeray often laughed at his brother-novelist and parodied him, but he acknowledged in 1852 that here was something more wonderful than fiction: 'Could a romance writer in after years have a better or more wondrous hero than that of an individual who at twenty years of age wrote *Vivian Grey*, and a little while afterwards, *The Wondrous Tale of Alroy*; who then explained to a breathless and listening world the great Asian mystery; who then went into politics, faced, fought, and conquered the great political giant of those days; and who subsequently led thanes and earls to battle; while he caused reluctant squires to carry his lance? What a hero would not that be for some future novelist, and what a magnificent climax for the third volume of his story, when he led him, in his gold coat of office, to kiss the Queen's hand as the Chancellor of the Exchequer!'

¹ *The Life of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield*, by W. F. Monypenny and George Earle Buckle. In Six Volumes. (John Murray, 1910-1920.)

Disraeli's grandfather came to London from Cento in Ferrara in 1748, and began life as a clerk in an Anglo-Italian house. He soon started in business for himself as an Italian merchant, and afterwards gained a good position as a stockbroker. In 1765 he married Sarah Siprut de Gabay, who brought him both capital and credit. He died worth £35,000. His son spoke of his 'sweetness of temper and generosity of feeling,' and his grandson remembered the presents which the 'kind, good-natured man' used to give him. His portrait of his grandmother is not flattering. He described her as 'a demon only equalled by Sarah (Duchess of Marlborough), Frances Anne (Marchioness of Londonderry), and perhaps Catherine of Russia.' She was so unusually kind and suave to all when she visited her son in 1825 that Mrs. Isaac D'Israeli remarked, 'Depend upon it she is going to die.' She passed away that year, not regretted by her little grandson, who remembered his visits to her with horror. 'No public conveyances, no kindness, no tea, no tips—nothing.'

Isaac D'Israeli was an only child. He was sent to Amsterdam, where his tutor gave him the run of an excellent library, but made no attempt to form habits of mental discipline. On his return to England at the age of eighteen his father wished him to enter a mercantile establishment at Bordeaux. The youth objected, and was sent to travel in France. He was to visit friends in Paris and go on to Bordeaux if he felt inclined. He returned to London in 1788, and in his twenty-fifth year published his *Curiosities of Literature*, which soon became popular. Byron was one of his admirers: 'I don't know a living man's books I take up so often—or lay down so reluctantly.' 'He is the Bayle of literary speculation, and puts together more amusing information than anybody.' In 1802 he married Maria Basevi, the youngest daughter of another Italian Jew who had settled in England later than his father.

Their son Benjamin was born at 6, King's Road, Bedford

Row, on December 21, 1804. His sister Sarah was then two years old, and three brothers were born later. One of them died in infancy. The family moved to Bloomsbury Square in 1817. Isaac D'Israeli never attended the synagogue, where the elders treated him with singular lack of sense, but he never became a Christian. Mr. Sharon Turner, the Anglo-Saxon historian, won his half consent to allow his children to be baptized and took them to St. Andrew's, Holborn, where the two younger boys were baptized first; on July 21 Benjamin was baptized and, after a short interval, his sister. 'No one could have foreseen how fruitful in great consequences this event was to be—neither the elders of the synagogue who forced the rupture, nor the Voltairian father, nor the zealous family friend, nor Mr. Thimbleby, who in Benjamin's case performed the ceremony of baptism.'

In November, 1821, Benjamin was articled to a firm of solicitors in Frederick's Place, Old Jewry. Here he spent nearly three years. One of the partners describes him as 'most assiduous in his attention to business and showing great ability in the transaction of it.' That is probably too flattering an estimate, but he was private secretary to the busiest of the partners, whose correspondence was as heavy as that of a Minister of the Crown. His evenings were spent at home in deep study. Before he was twenty he felt that a solicitor's office was not his true place. The partner's daughter, whom it had been hoped that he might marry, saw this before he did. 'You have too much genius for Frederick's Place: it will never do.' 'We were good friends,' he adds. 'She married a Devonshire gentleman, and was the mother of two general officers, of whom we have heard a good deal of late [Zulu War, 1879], and whom I employed as a Minister! Such is life!'

He tried his fortunes on the Stock Exchange, and lost about £7,000 in Spanish-American shares. The debt thus incurred before the age of twenty was not 'finally liquidated

till nearly thirty years later, when he had already led the House of Commons, and been Chancellor of the Exchequer. The "rascal counters" were thrown into the scale against him, and his folly or misfortune on this occasion was the beginning of financial embarrassments by which he was tormented through a great portion of his career.'

He wrote several financial pamphlets and was consulted by Mr. Murray on business matters, especially as to a new periodical, on whose behalf he was sent to interview Sir Walter Scott. Murray told Lockhart, 'I never met with a young man of greater promise, from the sterling qualifications which he already possesses. He is a good scholar, hard student, a deep thinker, of great energy, equal perseverance, and indefatigable application, and a complete man of business. His knowledge of human nature, and the practical tendency of all his ideas, have often surprised me in a young man who has hardly passed his twentieth year, and above all, his mind and heart are as pure as when they were first formed; a most excellent temper, too, and with young people, by whom he is universally beloved, as playful as a child.'

Scott and Lockhart were greatly impressed by the young fellow, who enlisted their sympathy in the new paper, *The Representative*. The paper was badly managed and badly edited, and proved a failure from the beginning. It expired after eighteen months, having cost its proprietor £26,000. *Vivian Grey*, which appeared in 1826, a year after the mission to Edinburgh, 'became the talk of London and won for him celebrity or notoriety in a measure that few secure when they have barely crossed the threshold of manhood.' His health was poor, and he was harassed by his debts, but in these early years he wrote *The Young Duke*, *Contarini Fleming*, and *Alroy*, and travelled in Switzerland, and in the South of Europe and the East. He delighted in the splendour of the East. The buzz and bustle of the swarming population 'arrayed in every possible

and fanciful costume' appealed to his eager eyes and ears. He wandered in pursuit of health, and wrote rather bitterly: 'Five years of my life have been already wasted, and sometimes I think my pilgrimage may be as long as that of Ulysses.'

He returned to England in November, 1831, 'in famous condition—better indeed than I ever was in my life and full of hope and courage.' He had begun to dwell on a parliamentary career. He became a candidate for High Wycombe, and made a first speech from the portico of the 'Red Lion,' which revealed his quality. His curls and ruffles marked him out as a dandy, but to the public astonishment, he 'poured forth a torrent of eloquence with tremendous energy of action, and in a voice that carried far along the High Street.' 'When the poll is declared, I shall be there,' he said, pointing to the head of the lion, 'and my opponent will be there,' pointing to the tail. The success of the speech won him an assured reputation, but when the poll was taken Colonel Grey had twenty votes and Disraeli twelve. In December, at the General Election, he again stood at the bottom of the poll, but he only spent £80, and his opponent not short of £800. 'Had I let money fly I should have come in. I make no doubt of success another time.'

In the summer of 1834 he formed a friendship with Lord Lyndhurst which had a great influence on his political fortunes. Bulwer Lytton told Isaac D'Israeli, 'I met your son yesterday, restless and ambitious as usual; such dispositions always carve out their way.' He stood again at High Wycombe in 1835, and was only nineteen votes below Colonel Grey. He compared himself to the Italian general who was asked why he was always victorious in his old age, and replied it was because he had always been beaten in his youth. He now busied himself with journalism, joined the Conservatives, and was sent down by the party to Taunton to oppose Mr. Henry Labouchere, who sought

re-election on his appointment as Master of the Mint. He did not succeed, but he gained great popularity. References to O'Connell, which were misrepresented by the press, aroused the wrath of the famous Irish orator, who said that Disraeli had 'just the qualities of the impenitent thief on the cross, and I verily believe, if Mr. Disraeli's family herald were to be examined and his genealogy traced, the same personage would be discovered to be the heir-at-law of the exalted individual to whom I allude.' Disraeli replied with great violence, but the incident gave him the notoriety which he then coveted, and he wrote in his diary a year later, 'Row with O'Connell in which I greatly distinguish myself.' It is pleasant to add that O'Connell sent him a message of peace before he died. He said that it had always been heavy on his heart that there should have been a misunderstanding between them, and that he had long known that he had been misinformed and misled in the matter.

In 1837 Disraeli was returned for Maidstone as junior colleague of Mr. Wyndham Lewis. His wife was the 'pretty little flirt and rattle,' whom Disraeli had met five years before. She paid a visit to the Disraelis at Bradenham, and thought the father 'the most lovable, perfect old gentleman I ever met with.' She describes her husband's colleague as 'our political pet.'

Mr. Monypenny's second volume begins with Disraeli's entrance into Parliament. It was the 'period when his genius was at its greatest height and vigour.' His maiden speech aroused the hostility of the Irish and of the Reformers, who resented his statement that since the Reform Bill 'the stain of boroughmongering had only assumed a deeper and darker hue,' and intimidation was more highly organized than even under the old system. The clamour and interruption became so intense that he at last exclaimed: 'I have begun several things many times, and I have often succeeded at the last—though many had predicted that

I must fail, as they had done before me.' Then in a voice which rose high above the clamour, 'I sit down now, but the time will come when you will hear me.' Sir Robert Peel told a friend that 'he did all that he could do under the circumstances. I say anything but failure; he must make his way.' Disraeli told his sister, 'I fought through all with undaunted pluck and unruffled temper, made occasionally good isolated hits when there was silence, and finished with spirit when I found a formal display was ineffectual.' Ten days later he spoke again and with complete success.

On August 28, 1839, he married Mrs. Lewis. He had told her not long before: 'I feel that there never was an instance where a basis of more entire and permanent felicity offered itself to two human beings.' His highest hopes were more than realized. Mrs. Disraeli may have been commonplace in intellect, but she had a strain of heroism which made her an ideal wife for Disraeli. When she died after thirty years of marriage, her husband said, 'There was no care which she could not mitigate, and no difficulty which she could not face. She was the most cheerful and the most courageous woman I ever knew.' Mrs. Disraeli had a house in London, and an income of £4,000 a year for life. She was twelve years older than her husband, and used laughingly to declare in later years, 'Dizzy married me for my money, but if he had the chance again he would marry me for love.'

In Parliament he showed a somewhat aggressive independence, yet succeeded in winning the approbation of Peel. He broke with his constituents at Maidstone, but found a seat for Shrewsbury. Peel wished to offer him office in his Government in 1841, but had apparently to give way to the prejudice of Lord Stanley. Disraeli made some powerful speeches and was regarded as the mentor and guide of the Young England party. The fact that he had not received office gave him leisure to write *Coningsby* and *Sybil*.

Henry Hope, of Deepdene, Dorking, had urged him to treat in literary form the political ideas which they were in the habit of discussing. Disraeli saw that fiction would afford the best opportunity of winning the public ear. The novel appeared in 1844, and had a striking and immediate success. Three considerable editions were sold in three months; it had a large circulation on the Continent, and within a very brief period more than 50,000 copies were sold in the United States. It was regarded as the manifesto of the New England party, and its references to living statesmen by name or under some disguise which the keymakers professed to penetrate excited widespread curiosity. Isaac Disraeli was delighted, and said the man who had made the finest speech of the session had written the best book that ever was written. He repeated his success the following year with *Sybil*. The two books represent his conception of the Tory idea and its background of history. 'Woven into their texture there is a theory of English history and of modern English politics which is nowhere else in Disraeli's works so explicitly developed.'

Up to 1844 Disraeli had not succeeded in winning the confidence of the House of Commons. 'The reputation of a brilliant speaker and the homage of a picturesque coterie were not enough to satisfy a man of his temper, yet of any higher reward there appeared to be little prospect.' He had, however, a power of patient, unflagging resolve, a rare insight in discerning opportunity, and a rare courage in seizing it. In 1845 he turned his artillery on Peel, whom he accused of tampering with the 'generous confidence of a great people and a great party.' 'For me there remains this at least—the opportunity of expressing thus publicly my belief that a Conservative Government is an organized hypocrisy.' The speech made a sensation. Mr. Gladstone said that Peel only once tried to answer Disraeli's repeated philippics, but 'failed utterly.' Disraeli was left to march undisturbed from triumph to triumph. Mr. Monypenny

says that 'there is not only a moral but an intellectual integrity, and in the intellectual virtue Peel was as much the inferior of Disraeli as in the moral he was his superior.' When his object had been accomplished and Peel driven from office, Disraeli never uttered another offensive word against him.

In January, 1847, Disraeli took his seat on the front bench in the House of Commons beside Lord George Bentinck, the leader of the Protectionist party. He resigned his seat for Shrewsbury and was returned unopposed as one of the members for Buckinghamshire, with which his connexion remained unbroken till he went to the House of Lords. 'This,' he said in 1860, 'is the event of my public life which has given me the greatest satisfaction.' *Tancred*, published in March, 1847, shows an intense pride of race which he held to be intimately bound up with religion. He insisted that the two principles of love of God and our neighbour 'are embalmed in the writings of Moses, and are the essence of Christian morals.' Christianity was completed Judaism. Disraeli's loyalty to his race was severely tested in the struggle for Jewish rights, but he 'manifested in a very high degree adherence to principle, disregard of self-seeking, and courage.'

Lord George Bentinck died suddenly in 1848, and despite keen opposition Disraeli was able on February 22, 1849, to write to his sister: 'After much struggling I am fairly the leader.' His mother died in April, 1847, his father nine months later. The purchase of Hughenden Manor was not quite completed, but in the autumn Disraeli and his wife moved into the manor, which he regarded as 'the prettiest place in the county.'

The Tory party was depressed and disorganized. Disraeli set himself to build up a strong Opposition which might be ready to carry on the Government when the Whigs were overthrown. He recognized that it was idle to attempt

any repeal of the Corn Law of 1846. The alternative was to secure compensation in other ways for the agriculturists. Disraeli urged that 'on the principle of reciprocity, which was at once cosmopolitan and national, the commercial system could be reconstructed in a manner beneficial to the Mother-Country and advantageous to the colonies.' He was thinking much about the colonies. Mr. Buckle says he 'constantly sought methods by which, without impairing their local independence, he might bind them with a living interest to the mother-country and the empire. . . . If the principle of colonial representation had been adopted sixty years ago, it is possible that we might by this time see our way to that representative organization of the empire which is the necessary alternative to ultimate disruption.'

When Lord Derby formed his Government in 1852 Disraeli became Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the Commons. His first Budget speech was a marked success, and brought him his first letter from the Queen, 'who had hesitated to accept his services, but who was eventually to set him above all her other Ministers in her esteem and regard.' He was now brought into close contact with the Prince Consort, of whom he writes to his sister: 'He has great abilities and wonderful knowledge—I think the best-educated man I ever met; most completely trained, and not over-educated for his intellect, which is energetic and lively.'

Disraeli's second Budget was severely assailed, and though his powers were never more brilliantly displayed than in its defence, it was destroyed by nineteen votes. Many of its principles have, however, 'received a triumphant vindication from time. The root idea—that under a Free Trade system direct taxation must be largely increased—has governed all recent financial schemes. The justice of taxing precarious, or, as the modern phrase is "earned"—incomes more lightly than realized incomes has been recognized.'

Much had been done during the ten months that Earl Derby was premier to improve the foreign relations of the country. The Government had been without a majority in the Commons and the Court had been markedly unsympathetic, yet Disraeli had shown the 'almost illimitable range of his political resources; and his position as Leader had been confirmed by ten months of dexterous management. He had proved his capacity for the highest offices in the State.' Derby clung to Protection, and although Disraeli recognized that Free Trade was now the established policy of the country he had proved his loyalty to his chief and his colleagues, though he thus exposed himself to virulent criticism which circumstances prevented him from meeting conclusively.

The Conservatives were now in opposition. Derby had a great opportunity in 1855, when the Coalition Government was defeated, but he showed a strange want of nerve and courage. It was a bitter experience for Disraeli. As Lord Morley says, he 'beheld a golden chance of bringing a consolidated party into the possession of real power flung away.' He had tried in vain to embolden his chief, and had shown his disinterestedness by waiving his own claims in favour of Palmerston. All was in vain. He faced the situation in a philosophic spirit and prepared to play his part in Opposition. Mr. Buckle dwells on the fact that in the maturity of his unique political life he was compelled to spend more than twenty years out of five and twenty between 1849 and 1874 in Opposition during long tenures of office by Russell, Palmerston, and Gladstone. His action was by general consent both patriotic and effective. His genius was as markedly creative as critical, but on that side it had no room for exercise. 'The marvel is that when, in his declining years, he came tardily by his own, sufficient original faculty should have persisted to enable him to leave an imperishable mark on the history of England and of the world.'

He was Chancellor again in 1858, and though the Conservatives were defeated in 1859 his ascendancy both in the party and in the House of Commons was more marked, though his steady pursuit of a progressive policy alarmed the higher Tories. He showed remarkable self-abnegation in offers to Palmerston, Graham, and Gladstone, and was ready to waive his own personal claims to promote the efficiency of the public service and the interests of a great political party. He had still to struggle against much misrepresentation. His future ally and successor, Lord Robert Cecil, described him in the *Quarterly Review* as a 'favourite of misfortune,' who 'went forth blundering and to blunder,' and had 'unrivalled powers of conducting his party into the ditch.' Disraeli's success in the following session was, however, so notable that next quarter Lord Robert had to temper his statements in another article.

In 1866 Disraeli was again Chancellor, and secured as his private secretary Montague Corry, to whom he had been greatly attracted, and who now became his most intimate and helpful friend and henchman. Disraeli had a triumph in 1867 when he carried through a Reform Bill which added about a million new voters to the constituency. Bishop Wilberforce wrote in August, 'The most wonderful thing is the rise of Disraeli. It is not the mere assertion of talent, as you hear so many say. It seems to me quite beside that. He has been able to teach the House of Commons almost to ignore Gladstone, and at present lords it over him.' Gladstone talked of 'the diabolical cleverness of Disraeli,' but Mr. Buckle says there was also good temper, patience, tact, resource, judgement, resolution, courage, and loyalty, and what is summed up in one word, character. Gladstone and Mrs. Disraeli had a strong regard for each other, and he would frequently come round to see her at Grosvenor Gate after a sharp encounter in the House of Commons to show he bore no malice. Lord Derby resigned the Premiership in February, 1868, and the Queen entrusted

Disraeli with the formation of a ministry. He became First Lord of the Treasury. Lord Stanley lent his rooms at the Foreign Office that Mrs. Disraeli might hold a grand reception. Bishop Wilberforce wrote in his diary: 'Dizzy in his glory, leading about the Princess of Wales; the Prince of Wales, Mrs. Dizzy—she looking very ill and haggard. The impenetrable man low.' Dizzy jauntily replied to congratulations: 'Yes, I have climbed to the top of the greasy pole.' He knew well what it would cost to maintain his position now that Lord Derby's influence was no longer paramount.

For thirteen years he was the titular head of the party of which he had long been the most vital force. Household suffrage proved unfavourable to its authors in the elections of 1868, and the Government resigned. But in 1874 the party had a triumph at the polls, and during the Administration of 1874-1880 'Disraeli exercised as undisputed a sway over his followers, and as complete a control over Parliament, as ever was attained in this country by Minister or party leader. The confidence of his party was not seriously shaken by the crushing defeat of 1880; he retained it in almost undiminished measure to the last day of his life.'

The Prime Minister was cheered and supported on taking office in 1868 by the constant sympathy and encouragement of the Queen. She much appreciated his picturesque letters, which Lady Augusta Stanley said were in his best novel style, telling her every scrap of political news and every scrap of social gossip likely to amuse her. The Queen began to send him spring flowers, which afterwards led to his name being associated with the primrose. Ecclesiastical patronage often caused no small difficulty to one who was personally ignorant of the leading clergy. He had a multiplicity of counsellors, and the Queen had strong views of her own, which she carried through in regard to Archbishop Tait and Bishop Magee.

The defeat of the Government in 1868 gave Disraeli

some real leisure. *Lothair* was published in May, 1870. 'All the world read the book; every journal reviewed it. It was the principal topic of polite conversation during the London season.' The success was so great that he started to write *Endymion*, but his return to office delayed its publication for ten years. His wife died on December 15, 1872. The Queen had created her Viscountess Beaconsfield in 1868. A touching letter of farewell written in 1856 was found among her papers after her death. She wrote: 'You have been a perfect husband to me. Be put by my side in the same grave.' Her loss was the 'supreme sorrow' of his life. He found welcome distraction in his political work.

Among those who showed him special kindness at this time were Anne, Countess of Chesterfield, and her sister Selina, Countess of Bradford. Lady Chesterfield had been seven years a widow, Lord Bradford had been Disraeli's colleague as Lord Chamberlain and Master of the Horse. These two ladies now became his intimate friends. He paid them frequent visits, and wrote incessantly. Five hundred of his letters to Lady Chesterfield during eight years, and 1,100 to Lady Bradford have been preserved. The twelve years' friendship with Mrs. Brydges Willyams had only produced about 250. He asked Lady Chesterfield to marry him that he might have one lady as wife and the other as sister. She knew that it was to Lady Bradford that he was most attached and refused his offer, but that made no difference to their intimacy. Lady Bradford was 'often taken aback by Disraeli's septuagenarian ardour, and embarrassed by his incessant calls at her house in Belgrave Square, and his unending demands on her time; though she, as well as her sister, could not but be flattered by the assiduous attentions of one who was for the greater part of the last years of his life the most famous and admired man in the country.' He found the secret of Lady Chesterfield's charm in 'the union of grace and energy; a union

very rare, but in her case most felicitous.' In Lady Bradford he felt 'a sweet simplicity, blended with high breeding; an intellect not over-drilled, but lively, acute, and picturesque; a seraphic temper, and a disposition infinitely sympathetic—these are some of the many charms that make you beloved of D.' His 'chivalrous devotion to women,' Mr. Buckle says, 'was independent of physical attraction and the appeal of youth. Otherwise his elderly wife—not to speak of Mrs. Willyams and others—would hardly have influenced him as she did to the day of her death.' He never forgot his wife and his happiness with her; his poignant regret and his loneliness without her are the frequent theme of his letters, but the attachment to Lady Chesterfield and Lady Bradford gave brightness and colour to his last years.

The elections of 1874 placed him at the summit of power. He had a large majority in both Houses of Parliament, and was 'surrounded by a capable and homogeneous band of colleagues. He was regarded with peculiar favour by his Sovereign; and rapidly came to hold in society, strictly so called, a place of distinction such as few Prime Ministers have aspired to and fewer attained.' Nevertheless he exclaimed: 'Power! it has come to me too late. There were days when on waking I felt I could move dynasties and governments, but that has passed away.' He had said in his thirtieth year: 'I am only truly great in action. If ever I am placed in a truly eminent position I shall prove this.' The state of his health made it expedient for him to go to the House of Lords in 1876 with the title of Earl of Beaconsfield. His singular influence in the House of Commons was in no small measure due to the fact that he was always in his place. While business was in progress, however dull and irksome it might be, he would never leave the bench himself, nor, when in office, permit his colleagues to leave without adequate reason. He noted the tone of the House, watched the progress of rising young men, and the

appearance of new members who addressed the House. He was master of his subject and his retentive memory enabled him altogether to dispense with notes. He was equally successful in the House of Lords. His triumph at the Congress of Berlin in 1878 won him vast popularity at home and throughout Europe. Lord Salisbury, who shared his labours there, bore witness when Beaconsfield died, that 'zeal for the greatness of England was the passion of his life.' The purchase of the Suez Canal shares in 1875 aroused the attention of the world, and in 1876 the Queen was declared Empress of India at her own special wish as a pendant to the visit of the Prince of Wales. The Government resigned in April, 1880, and Lord Beaconsfield spent the last year of his life in Opposition. *Endymion* appeared in November and had a great vogue. His health gradually failed, and on April 19, 1881, he passed away calmly as if in sleep. He was buried beside his wife at Hughenden amid unnumbered tokens of national regard and regret.

Mr. Buckle claims that the ideas in politics by which Lord Beaconsfield lives deal with the consolidation of our far-flung Empire and the assertion of its due influence on the world at large, and on the consolidation of the commonwealth at home by promoting the moral and physical improvement of the people, and by welding all classes into an harmonious whole. Mr. Buckle's last words sum up his estimate: 'To the present writer, as to his predecessor, looking back over the Victorian age from the disinterested standpoint of to-day, Disraeli appears a grand and magnificent figure, standing solitary, towering above his contemporaries; the man of fervid imagination and vision wide and deep, amid a nation of narrow practical minds, philistine, Puritan-ridden, his life at once a romance and a tragedy, but a splendid tragedy; himself the greatest of our statesmen since the days of Chatham and of Pitt.'

JOHN TELFORD.

THE IDEA OF PROGRESS

THE idea of progress¹ has, in recent times, become a prevailing assumption that has been treated as shining in its own light. It has been accepted by many, not only as a postulate of successful effort, but as something near to an axiom of human thought. It has become to so great an extent the guide of thought and the mainspring of practical life as to give the sense of security and even the assurance of mastery amid all the swift and perplexing changes of human affairs. After conquering the minds of Western thinkers, as the result of a long process and of many controversies, it swiftly occupied popular opinion, especially while men had grown accustomed to count upon international peace, when they had become familiar with the doctrine of evolution, and when schemes of practical beneficence came more and more to dominate both political policies and the enterprises of private effort.

The idea of human progress, to quote Professor Bury, 'is based on an interpretation of history which regards men as slowly advancing—*pedetentim progredientes*²—in a definite and desirable direction, and infers that the process will continue indefinitely. And it implies that, as

The issue of the earth's great business

a condition of general happiness will ultimately be enjoyed, which will justify the whole process of civilization; for otherwise the direction would not be desirable. There is also a

¹ *The Idea of Progress*. The Romanes Lecture, 1920. By W. R. Inge, C.V.O., D.D. (Oxford. The Clarendon Press.) *The Idea of Progress*. An Enquiry into its Origin and Growth. By J. B. Bury, Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. (Macmillan & Co., Limited, 1920.)

² Lucretius V., 1448, *et seq.*

further implication. The process must be the necessary outcome of the psychical and social nature of man ; it must not be at the mercy of any external will ; otherwise there would be no guarantee of its continuance and its issue, and the idea of progress would lapse into the idea of Providence ' (Bury, p. 5). In other words, the content of the idea postulates a natural and normal process of development, by which mankind will ultimately attain complete realization—individual and collective, moral and intellectual—such attainment implying also complete adjustment between men and their terrestrial environment.

This almost unquestioned acceptance and assumption of the idea of progress is all the more remarkable when we bear in mind the difficulties with which it is beset. The most outstanding evidences of progress are to be found in the history of civilization. Yet the most obvious fact of history is that particular ancient civilizations, in some of which the human mind seems to have reached the zenith of its power, have fallen into decay and perished, and that modern civilization is so imperfect that some influential thinkers have been inclined to regard civilization, in itself, rather as a disease than as an achievement. Moreover, evidence of periods of apparent stagnation, of serious setback, and even of the absence or exhaustion of the impulse to seek progress, is both striking and abundant. At the best, progress has been partial, both in time and space ; there have also been gaps and breakdown, with only an imperfect resumption of suspended endeavours and a partial carry-over of previous gains. Even when the triumphs of progress have been most remarkable, either in ancient or in modern times, they have never been all along the line. They have taken place here or there, and have been achieved only in respect of certain of the values of human life, sometimes apparently to the neglect or even the sacrifice of other important interests. Hence the history of civilization offers some support to the *dictum* of Freeman that 'in

history, every step in advance has also been a step backward.' Account must be taken, not merely of its advantages, but of its attendant drawbacks.

Nor is this all. As the records of history and the remains of prehistoric ages are explored, it becomes evident that much of the world's material progress has been due, rather to what may be termed the happy accidents of discovery and the accumulation of experience than to any steady growth either of capacity or of worth. If evolution be accepted as a natural process, it appears to be limited both in energy and in range, while it is shadowed by counterbalancing phenomena of degeneration and decay which are attributable to the same general laws and due to an equally natural process. Furthermore, the presence of what appears to be chance and contingency in human affairs cannot be ignored, as Voltaire long ago pointed out.

Another formidable obstacle to progress, and therefore an additional difficulty in the way of acceptance of the idea, has been emphasized by Lotze. Formerly it was the fashion to assume that the environment to which life must be adjusted is a fixed and unchanging *datum*, and that, therefore, the task of progress is definite in its nature and limited in its demands. Yet this assumption is erroneous, for the environment is continually changing, partly in consequence of what are termed natural causes, and partly as the result of human efforts to transform it. Thus the physical and social environment, wrought into a system by the activity of man, presents a continuously changing problem to human thought and effort. Hence, not only does every age present a different task to progress, but well-nigh every year. The present discontents are sufficient, in themselves, to raise the question whether, *on the whole*, there is at present any completer adjustment between life and its environment than in times past, notwithstanding the vast increase of our material resources and physical power. The question may always be raised, with some

show of reason, as to whether the world is happier or better than at some selected epoch of the past.

To all this, two additional and weighty considerations must be added. In the first place, the Christian religion has never given its support to any crude or easy-going doctrine of human progress. Without pursuing the subject, it is clear that the biblical teaching in regard to sin and judgement is in itself sufficient to prevent the prevalence of shallow optimism over those who accept it. And, secondly, no law of progress has yet been discovered. As Professor Bury remarks, 'Within the last forty years nearly every civilized country has produced a large literature on social science, in which indefinite progress is generally assumed as an axiom. But the "law" whose investigation Kant designated as the task for a Newton, which Saint-Simon and Comte did not find, and to which Spencer's evolutionary formula would stand in the same relation as it stands to the law of gravitation, remains still undiscovered' (p. 348). He concludes that the idea of progress remains 'a dogma,' 'in spite of the confidence of Comte or of Spencer that he had made it a scientific hypothesis' (p. 346).

On these facts, it may perhaps be concluded that the idea of progress, together with its supposed justification, is an assumption, which simply gives expression to the inborn confidence that is characteristic of men of exceptional energy, of sanguine disposition, and of practical beneficence. By its light such men endeavour to organize their efforts as part of an actual, or a conceivable, plan of advance for mankind, and through its enthusiasm they seek inwardly to overcome the disheartening effect of existing evils and stubborn obstacles to reform. The assumption has become the expression of an innate faith, a sustaining spring of action, and a basis of collective effort. In a period marked by peaceful order, material improvements, and ever-deepening sympathy, the dissemination of this belief has been

comparatively easy. The idea has appeared to gain demonstration by its widespread acceptance. Still more has the conviction of its truth been established by the fact that it has become collective and sustained, and has supplied an intelligible and enheartening basis for far-reaching efforts. Moreover, the idea has created an ever-increasingly complex and powerful apparatus of means for its realization; these means coming frequently to inspire something of the satisfaction in themselves that arises from vivid anticipation of the end that is in view.

All these difficulties existed and were, to some extent, acknowledged before the war. The catastrophe of its outbreak, the appalling destruction of life and wealth that followed, and the almost insuperable difficulty of re-establishing even the bare structure of peaceful relations now that it is over, have combined to give added weight to all the objections of pessimism and to bring them home to all men. The damage to the material interests of men and to the structure of human society is, perhaps, the least part of the evil. There has been a disastrous throw-back of the human spirit. If at the call of duty, the spirit of heroism revived and eclipsed its ancient glories by a display of self-devotion of an intensity that has seldom and on a scale that has never heretofore been approached, it is equally true that the baser emotions and instincts of mankind have had a revival that is ominous for the immediate future of mankind. Hatred and fear, should they prevail in the next generation, are likely to find such means of destruction ready to their hands as would make the late war seem to have been but child's play compared with the terror and havoc of any succeeding struggle. What is more, all these evils, past and prospective, may plausibly be attributed to an illusory optimism of which the idea of progress is the monument. All this constrains thoughtful men to investigate more closely the nature and history, the grounds and guarantees of a doctrine, which despite

all the disappointments of the past and all the dangers apprehended for the future, still holds its ground in the faith and hope of civilized mankind.

At this juncture the exhaustive history of Professor Bury and the trenchant criticism of the Dean of St. Paul's are of exceptional interest and importance. The former traces the origin and growth of the idea of progress, carefully presenting all the historical material in a lucid and dispassionate way, which, however, does not conceal the spirit of scepticism in which the author both approaches and leaves his subject. Dr. Inge challenges the idea out-and-out in the light of his Neo-Platonic philosophy, accompanied by caustic realism, and in the interests of an interpretation of the Christian religion that is fashioned by both.

Professor Bury shows that faith in progress is modern and not ancient. With the exception of the striking passage in Lucretius already referred to, no unequivocal statement of the doctrine is to be found in classic writers, most thinkers either adopting with Hesiod the hypothesis of degeneration, or the counter-doctrine of cycles, with Plato and the Stoics. Nor was the idea familiar, still less accepted, in the Middle Ages. It is mainly the product of French thought, gradually wrought out through a development, the course of which was influenced by such English thinkers as Francis Bacon, Locke, and Adam Smith. Before belief in progress could be securely established, three conditions needed, as Professor Bury shows, to be fulfilled. First of all, the supposition that Greeks and Romans 'had attained, in the best days of their civilization, to an intellectual plane which posterity could never hope to reach,' had to be dismissed. This age-long assumption, strengthened by the Renaissance, was only set aside at the end of the ancient and modern controversy, which raged till the close of the seventeenth century. The second condition 'was a frank recognition of the value of mundane life and the subservience of knowledge to human needs. The secular spirit of the Renaissance

prepared the world for this new valuation, which was formulated by Bacon, and has developed into modern utilitarianism.' The third preliminary condition consists in the placing of science on sure foundations through the acceptance of the hypothesis of the invariability of the laws of nature (Bury, p. 66).

To these conditions Professor Bury adds a fourth. 'The undermining of the theory of Providence,' he says, 'is very intimately connected with our subject, for it was just the theory of an active Providence that the theory of progress was to replace; and it was not till men felt independent of Providence that they could organize a theory of progress' (p. 73). This last controversy is connected with the polemic of Bossuet, waged in his sermons and still more in his *Discourse on Universal History*, which appeared in 1681.

The doctrine of progress was first of all established in regard to knowledge. For this triumph Bacon and Descartes prepared the way. The startling discoveries of science gave the victory to the champions of the moderns against the ancients, and the theory of the progress of knowledge having become established in regard to the past, Fontenelle extended it to include the future by contending, against Bacon, that man will have no old age, and that his intellect will never degenerate.

The doctrine of progress, accepted in regard to knowledge, was applied by the Abbé de St. Pierre to include general human progress, and was similarly extended to the future by later French thinkers. One additional step had to be taken before a thorough-going doctrine of progress could be elaborated. The French exponents of the doctrine had been prejudiced against religion. Yet, if so persistent and powerful an influence on human life be excluded, it is clear that a very large abatement of the claim of universal progress must be allowed. It remained for Auguste Comte to bring religion within the ambit of human progress by

the explanation of its stages given in the *Philosophie Positive*. Eventually the opposition in France was won over, and such thinkers as Chateaubriand, Guizot, and Cousin joined the chorus that celebrated the past and anticipated the future triumphs of human progress.

Under the impulse given by French thought, German philosophers made their various contributions to the subject. Lessing's doctrine of the education of the human race is well known, while Kant, Schelling, Hegel, and Goethe did their part. In England the idea of progress was adopted and set forth by economic writers such as Adam Smith; by social reformers such as Owen and Godwin, and eventually it found its poet in Shelley.

Hence the consensus of opinion became practically complete. The entire course of the development is clearly traced by Professor Bury, who gives luminous accounts of every thinker who has counted for anything in the process, and abundant quotations to elucidate the point of view of each.

The idea of progress having been defined and its reality having been made good to the satisfaction of its prophets and philosophers, it remained to discover its law. To this task Comte, J. S. Mill, and Herbert Spencer applied themselves. It cannot, however, be claimed that they have satisfied even those who are predisposed to agree with them. Professor Bury's conclusion in regard to the matter has already been quoted. He is driven to suggest that the idea of progress is doomed to dethronement by some, at present, inconceivable successor. "In other words, does not progress itself suggest that its value as a doctrine is only relative, corresponding to a certain not very advanced stage of civilization; just as Providence, in its day, was an idea of relative value, corresponding to a stage somewhat less advanced?" (p. 352).

The method adopted by the Dean of St. Paul's is in striking contrast to the patient and painstaking procedure

of Professor Bury. Dr. Inge never fails to arrest attention, but he does so by brilliant and defiant statements that almost invariably overshoot the mark. He demolishes our most venerated idols by startling aphorisms, by searching and mordant criticism, and by uncompromising assertion of a philosophy which has little or no use for progress, conceived in terms either of terrestrial well-being, or of eudemonist satisfaction. He appears to have a rooted belief in the incompetence of human reason to control the laws of the material world, and he treats a large, perhaps the largest, part of what passes for human progress as an aberration that will eventually be negatived by the order of the universe. In this spirit he treats 'what we call civilization or culture, though much older than we used to suppose,' as 'a brief episode in the life of our race' (p. 12). He remarks that 'ancient civilizations were destroyed by imported barbarians; we breed our own,' and declares that 'the historian is a natural snob; he sides with the gods against Cato, and approves the winning side.' In this spirit he surveys the past, and in this style he shows the futility of the idea of progress as generally assumed and stated, whether reference be made to the physical and material, or to the moral and social interests of mankind.

Yet there is no speaker or writer whose procedure needs to be more carefully watched than Dr. Inge. The press delights to follow him as he devastates the hostile territory with fire and sword. It rushes to publish his sweeping condemnations as the final conclusions of the 'gloomy dean.' And, apparently, he himself is delighted that they should do so. What his casual hearers and critics seldom notice is that after he has laid waste the country, Dr. Inge generally sets up a reparations commission, by means of which he proceeds to re-establish a good deal of what, apparently, he had ruthlessly destroyed. For example, having given in his lecture a sarcastic summary of the reasons by which he and his audience 'have been driven

to the conclusion that neither science nor history gives us any warrant for believing that humanity has advanced, except by accumulating knowledge and experience and the instruments of living,' Dr. Inge makes the admission that 'it may be that there is an immanent teleology which is shaping the life of the human race towards some completed development which has not been reached.' He calls attention to 'the climbing instinct of humanity, and our discontent with things as they are,' as 'facts which have to be accounted for no less than the stable instincts of nearly every other species.' He goes on to insist upon the importance of hope, distrusted by the ancients, but erected into a moral virtue by Christianity. And he ends by remarking of Plato's saying that it does not much matter whether his ideal state is ever realized on earth or not, seeing the type is laid up in heaven, that, while from one point of view it does not matter very much, yet from another 'it does matter; for unless our communing with the eternal ideas endows us with some creative virtue, some power which makes itself felt upon our immediate environment, it cannot be that we have made those ideas in any sense our own.' In the same spirit Dr. Inge declares, in his work upon Plotinus, that 'no one is likely to despair of the world who has not sought to exploit it for anti-social aims' (*Plotinus*, 1, 241). Similarly, in the conclusion of his article on 'The Indictment of Christianity,' published in *Outspoken Essays*, the dean remarks that while 'a spiritual religion can win a victory only within its own sphere,' yet 'it is a mistake to suppose that a Christian nation would be unable to hold its own in the struggle for existence' (*op. cit.*, p. 265).

We come on then to the conclusion reached by Professor Bury, that belief in the idea of progress 'is an act of faith,' and to that of Dr. Inge that it owes its acceptance to the influence of hope, which is deeply rooted in human nature and must have some vital function to serve. Both these

conclusions appear to be sound and even inevitable. The act which, in so mixed a world, seizes upon certain features of the past as determinative of it, and projects them into the future as equally determinative of it, must needs be an act of faith; while faith in the future triumph of the highest values, must needs be coloured by hope and sustained by the aspirations and efforts that hope inspires. Yet this by no means implies that either the faith or the hope is irrational or ill-grounded. All it means is that the place both of faith and hope alike in the constitution of human nature and in the ordering of the world must needs be more thoroughly, that is, more philosophically, explored. The last word must be spoken, not by the scientific understanding, but by the higher reason, working upon the facts that experience presents and science, including history, investigates.

It is impossible to deal with so profound a subject within the limits of this article. It must suffice, for the moment, to point out that in their final conclusions, both the writers under review suggest the clue which a philosophic treatment of the Christian religion would follow up. Hope, as Dr. Inge points out, was erected by Christianity into a moral virtue. 'Hopefulness,' he goes on to say, 'may have been partly a legacy from Judaism; but it was much more a part of the intense spiritual vitality which was disseminated by the new faith' (p. 27). But how can spiritual vitality be 'disseminated'? How was it, as a matter of fact, first of all enjoyed and then disseminated? The only possible answer to the latter question is that this 'intense spiritual vitality' arose from a new idea of God in His relationship to man, which was accompanied by a new experience that gave an inner verification to this revelation. If hope became a moral virtue for St. Paul, this was because of his intense realization that, in Christ, he had become a son and heir of God. The abiding consciousness of this relationship not only brought 'intense spiritual vitality,'

but caused this vitality to manifest itself in the assured sovereignty of hope. This vitality was 'disseminated' by the apostle's missionary endeavour 'to make all men see' the truth which had become manifest and vital to himself. How was his success in this task rendered possible? Only because the Christian consciousness of God makes explicit and dominant the truth which is latent in human nature and indeed constitutes it, both in itself and in its relation to the universe. This latent and constitutive truth is the spring of the faith and hope that make belief in progress so potent a factor in human history, and, despite disappointments, so ineradicable a temper in mankind. This immanent truth exists whether it be acknowledged or not. The acknowledgement of it at once increases spiritual vitality and supplies the sufficient reason of a temper of faith and hope, which had hitherto been unable to justify themselves or to suggest 'the law' according to which they work for the progress of the world.

The kind of progress that is thus guaranteed to faith and hope, as well as the way in which it is guaranteed, can easily be discovered. The Fatherhood of God, whether clearly apprehended or unconsciously assumed, carries with it the assurance that the universe has meaning and that it means well. Hence the attitude of trust and the spirit of confident venture drive out the fear that is the outstanding mark of degeneration. The foundation is laid, not merely for the spirit of religion, but for the activity of reason, the discoveries of science, and the many-sided efforts of civilization. All these will be successful, so far as they have to do with the ordering of human life, just in proportion as they seek to perfect the spiritual relationships which spring out of the Fatherhood of God, and to carry out their consequences and applications in every realm of personal and social interest and endeavour. Such an endeavour must needs embrace the whole environment in and through which it energizes. Man cannot dissociate

himself from the universe out of which he arose and by which he is conditioned. Furthermore, it may be claimed that its inmost meaning and tendency are gradually being made manifest in the consciousness of man. It is for this reason that, to quote Dr. Inge, 'in an isolated but extremely interesting passage St. Paul extends his hope of "redemption into the glorious liberty of the children of God" to "the whole creation" generally' (p. 27). Such an extension to 'the whole creation' may take the form of a doctrine of 'the restoration of all things' (Acts ii. 21), or of 'the one far-off divine event, to which the whole creation moves,' according to Tennyson. Yet it includes also a belief in the gradual subordination of nature to spirit, and its progressive transmutation as the effect of spiritual endeavour. Above all, the faith and hope of progress that are consciously grounded in the Fatherhood of God reveal and uphold the ethical principle that true self-realization must be sought in self-sacrifice for the whole and for the future. As Professor Bury says, 'the centre of interest is transferred to the life of future generations, who are to enjoy conditions of happiness denied to us, but which our labours and sufferings are to help to bring about' (p. 347). It is hard to see how such an attitude can be made *rational* upon any other presuppositions save those which the Christian religion sets forth.

In conclusion, the doctrine of progress as thus unfolded transcends alike the alternative between Providence and progress upon which Professor Bury dwells, the alternative between the apocalyptic event and the natural process, and that between the yonder and the here, with which Dr. Inge, following Plotinus, is concerned. As to the first, the doctrine of Providence, according to Professor Bury, means divine *interference from outside*. It has often been explained in this way. Yet the essential Christian doctrine is rather that of immanent and sovereign co-operation on the part of God as the transcendent Personality, Who unites

and yet distinguishes between spiritual beings and the universe, which is the condition of their 'perfecting.' When understood in this sense, Providence, so far from being incompatible with the idea of natural progress, is seen to be the reality which both underlies the facts and warrants the hope which belief in progress accepts. So, again, the apparent chasm between the apocalyptic view and that of an immanent tendency to progress may be bridged. The former conception sees the goal in high relief and the process as foreshortened. It recognizes the presence and the need of divine activity if the goal is to be reached. Yet it need not exclude the complementary belief of a continuous divine activity by which 'the whole creation' is being prepared for the consummation, which in fulfilling the divine purpose will satisfy alike the aspiration, the hope, and the reason of a truly spiritual faith.

Finally, the contrast between yonder and here is bridged by such a belief in progress, as accepts the ideal of the Lord's Prayer, 'As in heaven, so on earth.' Faith in the Fatherhood of God raises men to a transcendent life of 'citizenship in heaven,' where the perfect pattern is laid up. The whole exercise of such faith is a laying up of treasure in heaven. Yet this concentration upon heaven does not imply either isolation from, or despair of, earth. We live both here and yonder, and our life by the faith and hope of sonship transcends the distinction between the two, so that the more our life is centred in heaven, the more it finds its circumference on earth. Hence the idea of progress, sustained by a faith and hope, which, as long as they are instinctive, can give no satisfying account of themselves, finds its satisfying reason only as it is explained and made spiritual by treating the revelation of the Father as the key to the nature, the history, and the prospects of mankind.

J. SCOTT LIDGETT.

THE GIORGIONES IN ITALY

THE Finding of Moses and *The Judgement of Solomon*, in the Uffizi, are almost square panels, both done under the influence of Bellini's *Sacred Allegory*: they are much less masterly, they have the crudity of very young work; the colours are bright and crude, almost unfaded, the forms very carefully but a little stiffly designed. The careful, formal, and charming landscapes already suggest the Giovannelli with their blue sky and blue hills, their straight trees, tufted high up, their straight white towers (turned a little grey in the latter), the smooth foreground with carefully outlined stones lying about and a few tiny shrubs, their middle distance of plain or meadow with armed men in the one, shepherds and sheep in the other, and, in the former, the pool of blue water.

The figures are painted with precision, the folds of their green and red and black cloaks (green, black and orange) are formal and regular, with a singular quietude in what is stiff and crude. The cloth laid over the marble seat on which Pharaoh sits is blood-red and lights up the whole foreground; colour is placed solidly against colour with a charming *naïveté*, which aims perhaps at the far finer harmony which Carpaccio attained (never more splendidly than in the fragment of his *Finding of the True Cross*) and which was already visible in the jewelled colours of Bellini's allegories, here and in Venice. The turban of the man in green to the left in *Moses* is a piece of brilliant and minute decoration: white, lavender, grey-blue, black and faint pink, and the hair of the woman who holds Moses falls with delicate thin curls down the neck (as in the woman behind, who resembles the Hermitage *Judith* in the arrangement of her hair) and a black band round her head wanders off into the fantastic Beardsley-like tassels. Already there is the

sense of a landscape with figures, of the co-operation of nature with people in their significant moments ; and there is a young gaiety well aware of what is serious in these tragic subjects, treating them with due dignity, but at the same time using them for decoration, for a kind of serious and tranquillizing pastoral music. From these to the Giovanelli is but a step, and from that to the Louvre *Concert*. And there is already all that sense of exquisiteness and finish which we are to see achieved later ; and, also, a sense of individuality in these faces which are never treated as mere decoration, which have already so much and so elegant a life. Already, in the two women, there is that delicate oval and that shrinking daintiness which not even Bellini was wholly able to give.

In both pictures the effect of dark green, both in drapery and in trees and in grass, is given by a very delicate criss-cross of thin black lines on different shades of green, giving the effect of a tiny cobweb of black net painted regularly all over the green. One can see where the *Solomon* has been repainted in these parts, but there is the same skill of hand underneath it, and there was, I am sure, the same lovely glow of bright colours. And what profound character in those faces, each so finely individualized ; not one is generalized or left inexpressive ! Also in the *Moses* the brown plains, rising into brown hills, are painted with an absolutely smooth brush, from which the brown tree-trunks stand out with darker tones ; the green and yellow trees and the grass are all hatched in the way I have noted. The whole painting is done with great ease, but not with any great minuteness ; the drawing is firm and clear, not hard though definite ; visible touches of paint are very rare, though they occur chiefly for lighting. The whole effect is of luminous smoothness.

Note that in neither of these formal and placid studies in the romantic is there any trace of the fantastic and uncouth quality which we find in the *Seminario*, as well as

in all the mythological pieces attributed to Giorgione. There is nothing which can even be called fantastic; all is correctly ordered, with well subordinated decoration; perhaps the only trace of the fantastic might be found in the girdle painted with human heads worn by the half-naked brown soldier to the right. Even the little classical scenes painted in a sort of grisaille to represent reliefs on the stone pedestals are, though slight and sketchy, without fantasy. Could this be accounted for by a quite *naïve* difference in Giorgione's way of approaching a Biblical and a mythological subject? Hardly, I think.

Again, there is some indication of violent action, even though arrested, in the execution of the *Judgement of Solomon*: but where are the flying folds of the *Seminario*? That is the only picture in which movement of limbs or of drapery in the wind is indicated, though one finds both in all the pseudo Giorgiones of the Corsini and Bergamo and elsewhere. Even the finest figures in the *Seminario*—the man for instance, with the whirling cloak in the middle-distance—are unparalleled in the other backgrounds, in which armed men stand so placidly, stringing idle bows, or shepherds lean on their staves or sit under trees, always content to sit or stand still. And all the other landscapes are windless, even the storm of the Giovanelli.

The Portrait of a Lady, in the Borghese Gallery, Rome (*Scuola Veneziana*), has in it all the vague mystery of a face, turned into a form of perpetual beauty by Giorgione. Note the fine, easy painting of the hands, with the definite fingernails; the easy gesture with which they are occupied, as they draw to its full length between them a white handkerchief, while the eyes meditate and think, lost in a dream. The ease and simplicity of the picture are not less than in the Castelfranco and the Dresden. Faded as it is, when the sunlight fills the room a glow comes out in the cheeks, and the eyes seem to grow darker, more vivid, more reticent, more filled with the secret which they retain. The paint is

faded, scratched, and cracked, but a woman lives there, on the dark canvas, with the eternity of a melody. By her side *The Sacred and Profane Love* (Titian's) is earthly, undistinguished; she is a princess of the mind, and the simpler sister of Monna Lisa.

This portrait has depth and subtlety, a profound inner life; mystery and simplicity, divining and recording eyes; a generous and aristocratic presence; the gentlest distinction; a subtle smile which almost reminds one of the smiling people of Leonardo, and it is more austere than Leonardo. It is serene, beautiful, and strange. It has that intellectual quality which one finds only in Giorgione, and something severer and more meditative than Titian. Compare it with the manly, sensuous subtlety of the Titian *Sacred and Profane Love* by its side, which is the triumph of delicate flesh and the exquisite surface of things.

In the foreground of *The Gypsy Madonna*, in the Palazzo Giovanelli, Venice, are two figures, behind which is the landscape of Castelfranco, and it has been imagined that the man is Giorgione and the woman his mistress. She is a naked woman, with a white garment with one end over her shoulder, suckling a child. A delicate bush of foliage crosses her naked thigh. Her face is lovely, with a meditative beauty, as if listening to the sound of the water, and her body is painted with luxuriance, a kind of calm voluptuousness. The man leans on his staff, with almost the same attitude as the Knight of Castelfranco: he is gaily dressed and has an air of severe, almost austere, abandonment to pleasure. He is a knight of pleasure. And this is a romantic garden of some quite sane and unspoilt enchantment; though, in the broken sky at the back, there is a streak of forked lightning, like a warning of 'pleasant days and then to die.' The paint, though faded, has still, in certain lights, a glow, richness beyond richness in the suave browns, greens, and sombre blues, where the water flows under the bridge. I have never seen a more perfectly romantic land-

scape, and the paint certainly has his magic. It grows upon the mind through the eyes as you look at it, as you absorb it. It exists, then, for its beauty, a thing dreamed so for the perfecting of happy hours. It has Giorgione's music and his magic.

The painting of the nude has his glow and his gentle reserve, his perfect distinction, and the face has a watchful beauty. The background is splendid; one sees the white towers caught by a sudden strong light, the shape and colours of the sky, and all the contrasts and all the elements which go to make up this harmony, like so many notes to the music. Then, in front, water, a rocky meadow, with broken columns, exquisitely lovely bushes, tall many-leaved trees; then green grass, dark blue water, crossed by a wooden bridge, and beyond square white towers and houses with some brown trees; the sky darkening beyond and behind, and the lightning streaking the clouds with a vivid zigzag.

The child is painted with a not less tender or human seriousness than the mother, in the midst of the most luxurious country scenes. It is not sensual, but the consecration of the senses. Here Giorgione becomes spiritual by his worship of bodily delight.

The Knight of Malta, in the Uffizi, Florence, is perhaps the most distinguished portrait in the world; only Velasquez can suggest pride so finely, and in the Velasquez there is always something violently personal, insistently real, alike in pose and in painting. But here, if ever, is what people call 'idealizing,' done as the Greeks did it, and as only the Greeks and Giorgione can be said to have done it. Here nothing is taken from reality in its transfiguration, as if by a 'light that never was on sea or land,' an inner light which seems to shine through, as if the soul looked out of its prison windows, not saying anything, but looking fixedly; aware, not dreaming, conscious, not self-conscious; a visible intelligence, splendidly quiescent. There is something here

which is hardly strange, yet is uncommon; it has not the mystery with which Leonardo surrounds human flesh, as with an unnatural and wizard atmosphere; the depth and significance of the look are in the very substance of the features and in the mere presence of a man, body and soul, there on the canvas. Blood is in the dark and sallow cheeks, and it is life itself which turns slowly on the grand neck, and but just averts the eyes, which rest on no visible thing. The paint has faded and blackened; only under sunlight can one distinguish the auburn colour of the hair which frames the face; only on looking close can one trace the faint pattern of leaves outlined in yellow dots on the black robe, and that only down the middle and at the wrist. There are still sufficient suggestions of the white at the neck of the twisted gold Venetian chain with the gold locket set with pearls, rubies, and an emerald, of the white and still vivid star on the breast, and of the polished ebony beads of the rosary which the hand holds lightly, as if turning them unconsciously between the thumb and forefinger. The ease and suggested imperceptible movement of this gesture reminds me of this gesture of the Borghese Lady, as she draws the handkerchief through her fingers with a like absorption in some other thing, a like automatic movement. On the lowest of the beads is inscribed XXXV.

Could anything be more like the hand of the Borghese, or less like all the hands of the Pitti Concert? This hand is faintly ruddy, absolutely smooth, without suggestion of veins or muscles, the nails are clearly indicated, and there is a shadow from the beads on the hand.

In Castelfranco we see Giorgione. Under frowning rain it has a strange mediaeval beauty: the tower, brown castellated walls covered with green, the sluggish green moat, the alley of delicate trees turning brown and green, like the trees which he painted, from which the yellow leaves whirled down on our heads and into the water as we passed. The splendid browns and greens, the dark thunderous sky,

the rain falling on the sodden roads outside the arcades ; the remains of ancient frescoes everywhere, old buildings, the astonishing effect of towers, old battlemented walls, leafage, the water and the moat ; here, then, is autumn coloured in a glory. There was a thick carpet of brown leaves rustling underfoot, beside the green water of the moat, the rugged brown battlemented walls of the castle above ; beyond, an indigo light of stormy blue, with grey clouds tossing above it. In the marvellous colours, those blazing browns and greens, with a light as of fire or blood in them, we saw the whole romantic and inspiring air of the place. Mid-afternoon light, on a day of storm, sets exactly the Giorgione bands of gold light between the darker upper clouds and the vivid and delicate Asolan mountains, coloured a storm-blue which is like the blue of a peacock glowing with an inner darkness, as if darkness shone luminous through them.

The qualities of richness and severity, of tenderness and meditation, of an unprejudiced delight in *all* lovely things, without even preference ; the severity of intellect at work on the refinement of beauty, the astringent quality in the search for and acceptance of beauty, are seen in this picture, *The Madonna and Child with S. Francis and S. Liberale*, in the Duomo. Never was anything less cold or less luscious. It has warmth and austerity. And it has touches of strangeness : a sense of the mystery of beauty. There is depth, a peace which is surely the peace of art. And there is the wholly original composition : the little remote Virgin perched up in the heavens, like a celestial princess. Here beauty is carried to the point at which it becomes enlightening. And there is nothing in the picture of which you can say that you see how it is done ; nothing of which the technique is obvious.

There is a mystery in the eyes and lips of the Virgin, as she meditates, with an incomparable sweetness and reserve. Beside the incomparable distinction in the Virgin,

are placed by far the most lovely patricians ever painted, with an infinite delicacy. St. Liberale, the young knight in armour, has a similar male loveliness, and when the sun falls on his figure one sees that there is blood in his cheeks, and that the whole body is alive under the armour. How the subtleties of colour come out under sunlight! in the details of the cloths behind and beneath the Virgin, and in the buckles and straps of the armour, and in the pommel of the sword, and in the softness of the banks of grass and in the delicacy of all those varying colours of flesh, from the Child to St. Francis. And St. Francis is not less beautiful, but more penetrating in his experienced maturity of wisdom than the Knight.

There is a slightly sullen suavity in the Knight, with his Venetian face (his and Bellini's St. Christopher are the two most Venetian I know). The armour is painted like a flower, and there is a kind of shining pansy of steel on his shoulder. How well his body fills the frame of the armour, how easily and daintily! you realize the beauty of his legs, the dainty strength by the way he stands. To contrast the severity, the austerity of St. Francis's monk's cloak, and the mailed armour of the Knight, is to realize what faces flame transfigured, out of these two types; youthful beauty and action and the passive meditation of maturity. Nor is there any unnecessary modelling, as in the rigid, yet wholly natural folds of the cloak; the utmost simplicity of subtlety. Here one sees the background (as in the Giovannelli) with the trees, towers (the actual Castelfranco hill sloping up to the ruined castle, or but slightly different), with touches of vague classical architecture further off; blue hills, his delicate brown trees, and smooth, almost empty landscape in front, with the one touch of the two little romantic figures. And yet one realizes the way in which all the conventional patterns of the brown and blue and grey behind the Virgin, the green and blue and gold designs and the green with red and yellow stripes under her

feet, and the disc with the coat of arms below, are painted ; all become beautiful, justified by the intensity of truth with which they are painted, like the chequer of the floor.

Leonardo is the only painter of whom I can think when one thinks of Giorgione ; in both there is the same ultimate smoothness, as of complete ease, the final achievement ; no effort, no emphasis. Take for instance Leonardo's *Last Supper* in the Cenacolo Vinciano in Milan. One looks at it as through a veil, which Time seems to have drawn over it, even when it is not cracked and chipped. Or it is as if it had soaked inward, the plaster sullenly absorbing all the colour and all but all the life. It is one of the few absolute things in the world, still ; here, for once, a painter who was the subtlest of painters has done a great, objective thing, a thing in the grand style, supreme, and yet with no loss of subtlety. It is in a sense the measure of his greatness. It proves that the painter of *Monna Lisa* means the power to do anything.

The quality of Giorgione's genius is untouched by any of the splendid forms of excess ; even, at times, by passion or by intensity, as in the artist nearest to him, Leonardo, in his strangeness. Yet in Giorgione's moderation, reserve, there is nothing lacking, and everything is there in a satisfying measure. All his dreams, even, go into the pictures, and are painted there ; nothing remains over, as his ' secret,' such as we imagine that Leonardo had.

ARTHUR SYMONS.

CHRISTIAN THEISM JUSTIFIED¹

SOME seventeen years ago the Rationalist Press Association issued a small booklet entitled, *Theism found Wanting*, by Mr. W. S. Godfrey. In the course of their developing propagandism, which is much more ceaseless and effective than ordinary Christian folk imagine, this has now been deemed worthy of reprinting in a more elaborate style with a special 'Foreword' by 'the Right Honourable J. M. Robertson,' well known to students as one of the keenest of critics. It is also furnished with a lengthy autobiographical account of the author's 'journey from belief to doubt.' One is greatly tempted to break a lance—or rather many lances—with the erudite writer of the 'foreword.' He, at least, ought to be above the usual 'Rationalist' sneers which recommend Theists to 'clear their minds of cant.' And when he calmly asserts that 'no reply worth the name' has appeared, on the Christian side, to Mr. Godfrey's former booklet, one can only suppose that his political labours have enveloped him in a sort of Rip Van Winkle trance. For not only have scores of able Christian books been issued on this great theme since 1903, but I will risk the immodesty of affirming that there is not one single anti-Theistic suggestion in Mr. Godfrey's brochure which is not fairly and fully met in my own poor contributions during the same time.

¹ *Theism Found Wanting*, by W. S. Godfrey (New and Enlarged Edition, Watts & Co.). *The Problem of Creation*, by Dr. J. E. Mercer (S.P.C.K.). *The Challenge of the Universe*, by C. J. Shebbeare (S.P.C.K.). *Theism*, by Prof. Borden P. Bowne (American Book Co.). *Naturalism and Agnosticism*, by Prof. J. Ward (A. & C. Black). *Christian Theism and a Spiritual Monism*, by W. L. Walker (T. & T. Clark). *Theism in the Light of Present-Day Science and Philosophy*, by Dr. Iverach (Hodder & Stoughton). *The Christian Doctrine of God*, by Dr. W. N. Clarke (T. & T. Clark). *Haeckel's Monism False, Theomonism True, The True God, Why not Atheism? Why Not Agnosticism?* by Dr. F. Ballard (Epworth Press).

However, for the moment we will confine our attention to Mr. Godfrey's life-story and latest conclusions. He was 'born and bred in a veritable hotbed of religion'—of the old evangelical type, which in recent years has so often perplexed many. He was greatly troubled by questions concerning 'predestination,' and 'other-worldliness'—but remained in his perplexity until the age of thirty-three, when he arrived at his 'undoing,' by 'entering on a course of study for the Christian ministry.' His study must have been peculiar. For he writes to-day after—he avows—'fifty years of earnest thought'—as if during all that time nothing whatever had happened to Christian thought and practice. Whereas every student who is at once intelligent and honest, knows well that there has been great development on true and worthy lines. Theologians have made mistakes in the past—almost as many as scientists. But if no one either reproaches men of science for being willing to learn better, or demands that their mistakes should be maintained, at least the same justice and liberty ought to be accorded to men of religion. That which led Mr. Godfrey to reject finally 'the whole Christian conception of God,' will be most fairly stated in his own words.

God was under no necessity to create, yet He did create—and on this wise He foreknew everything that would happen, and therefore He willed everything that would happen. This position is unescapable, for if we say anything happened which God did not intend, we compromise foreknowledge, and if we say that while He knew what would happen as the result of His creation, He yet disapproved of some of it, we produce a contradiction in terms—He willed what was contrary to His will. All the evil, therefore, as well as all the good, was deliberately predestined to be—all planned and purposed, designed and decreed. He blames the creature for being and doing what he was made to be and do. Then, with a show of magnanimity, He proposes and provides a way of salvation, and calls upon man to avail of it. But again it is only pretending, for response to the call is governed by sovereign grace which is only partially bestowed—'Whom He did foreknow He also did predestinate; whom He did predestinate them He also called; and whom He called them He also justified; and whom He justified them He also glorified.'

Now, the very first thing in this whole diatribe which must be definitely noted, is the deliberate misquotation of

Rom. viii. 29. From one who was for seven years a student for the Christian ministry, and now declares that his convictions are only confirmed by the lapse of half a century, we should have expected something more ingenuous. What right has he, or any man, to omit, in his representation of Christian doctrine by professed quotation, just those very words of the Apostle which supply the key to his real meaning? The truncated clause, as here quoted, conveys the idea of absolute predestination, rigid and resistless, to all that the New Testament means by 'salvation.' That would then also involve the 'reprobation' which even Calvin confessed to be 'a horrible decree.' But this was never true—and never could be true. It was no more in the apostle's thought than in Christ's own teaching.

The two omitted clauses show unmistakably that the final purpose of God here contemplated is lofty human character. But 'predestination' to character is unthinkable; seeing that it involves a definite contradiction in terms. For which reason it is high time that this misleading word—and its synonym in the Revised Version, 'foreordained'—was dismissed altogether. There is a better word, equally accurate as a rendering, and conveying a much truer significance.¹—'Whom He foreknew, He also designated to be sharers of the divine likeness of His Son, so that He might be the eldest amongst many brothers.' This being the true meaning of the Apostle, makes the sneer in the heart of Mr. Godfrey's word 'pretending,' as unworthy as false, and puts emphasis upon the contradiction in terms which his statement involves. 'Response' on the part of the 'governed'—i.e. predestined—is unthinkable. There can be no 'response' where there is no possible spontaneity. And there can be no spontaneity where all is 'governed.'

¹ Space limitations do not permit here an elaborate critical note; it must suffice to say that all the six occurrences of *προώρισεν* in the New Testament, when taken fairly with their context, also support the above exegesis. Acts iv. 28; Rom. viii. 29, 30; 1 Cor. ii. 7; Eph. i. 5, 11. And, with all respect, Dr. Moffatt's rendering of the verse before us, is quite unwarranted.

So we are thrown back upon this writer's own statement—'He foreknew everything that would happen, and *therefore* He willed everything that would happen.' An amazing sentence in very deed; as utterly illogical as self-contradictory. A more illogical 'therefore' than this, was never written in philosophy. So far indeed from 'this position' being 'unescapable,' there is nothing to escape from. Nor can there be greater confusion of thought than to suggest that 'we compromise foreknowledge if we say that anything happened which God did not intend.' It is all of a piece with his further remark that—'God foreknew and foreordained the sin.' This 'and,' again, is self-contradictory: the writer has just said that he is 'familiar with the truth that God made man a free agent, with power of choice.' In that case, 'fore-ordained sin' is once more a contradiction in terms. Compelled goodness and badness are alike unthinkable. In a word, 'foreknowledge' never did involve 'foreordination,' or 'predestination,' and never could do. 'Foreknowledge' is, after all, only an accommodation to human limitations. With God, as Christian Theism postulates Him, there is no before or after. But the simplest statement will be at once most true and most 'unescapable.' If we accept the limitations of our mental powers and think of something as being known before it happens, *that foreknowledge has no influence whatever* upon the happening. For the knowledge cannot but be derived from the event—not the event from the knowledge. To say that God foreknew anything and 'therefore willed it,' is to turn logic topsy-turvy. A simple analogy will provide a truthful illustration. If I had a power of foresight which permitted me to see that my friend would be in a railway accident next week, such foresight would assuredly not cause that accident to happen. For the accident would have to have happened *before* my vision could see it as such. So, for all and for ever, foresight—human or divine—of any event, in the degree in which it is conceivable, *is conditioned*

by that event, and has nothing whatever to do with bringing it about. Hence all this anti-theistic tirade is out of place, and there is no warrant whatever for the revolting slander which speaks of 'a God of unspeakable caprice and cruelty—a God—creating untold millions for a destiny of damnation, in order that a remnant might be saved.' 'Rationalism' must indeed be hard put to it, if this lie is the best it has to offer to the modern mind.

III—THE INDICTMENT OF THEISM

The essay which follows the autobiography is divided into three sections: (1) the problem of causation, (2) the problem of evil, (3) the substitute for Christian Theism. But these really need not detain us long. For (1) has been unanswerably answered times without number; (2) is at least sufficiently answered, from the Christian standpoint,¹ to save anyone who will fairly face *all* the facts from making shipwreck of faith after the example of Mr. Godfrey; (3) is so plainly both illogical and comfortless, that one real glance at it acts almost as the fabled Medusa's head. At the very least it sends a shiver of despair through one's whole being, from which all that is best within us may well pray to be delivered.

(1) A brief word, first, as to the problem of causation. The writer affirms that 'the theist is in no better case than the atheist, as to supplying a rational explanation of things.' Why not? Because of the old, old, childish question—'If God made all things—who made God?' It is, indeed, passing strange that any intelligent author approved by Mr. J. M. Robertson, and supported by the R.P.A., should think that to propound once more that hoary conundrum is to put an end to modern Theism. Says he—in italics—

¹ That this is not a mere *jeu d'esprit* I have endeavoured to show, at greater length, in a booklet recently published by the Epworth Press, entitled—*Is Life worth Living?—the Christian Answer to the Problem of Pain.*

'There is absolutely nothing to choose between the position of Theist or Atheist, on the mere score of supplying a rational explanation, a satisfying suggestion, of how things came to be.'

There is only one word wrong in this sentence—viz. the word 'nothing,' which ought to be 'everything.' Whether there can be a 'satisfying suggestion' must depend upon the individual mind. That which is rational does not satisfy everybody. Human beings will never be omniscient, they have to remain content with being reasonable. We scarcely need reminding that 'boundlessness completely baffles us.'¹ Whether we think of an infinite universe, or a limited kosmos, or, still more exactly, of our own solar system, the 'necessity of thought' remains the same. That necessity demands, as long as human reasoning is rational, that whether our survey be narrow or wide, for every event there must be an adequate cause. That is the irrefragable and 'unescapable' principle of causation. From this the inference is as easy as inevitable, whatever becomes of Paley, that there must be some great prime Cause of all, who must also at least be what we are—on an infinitely larger scale—personal, intelligent, purposive. There is no recognition of this principle in the pages before us. All that is emphasized so strongly, is, that if God be a true expression for such causation, it is a useless inference, because the child's question above mentioned at once demands answer. 'If God be thought of as the Cause of the universe, what is the cause of God?'

It is astounding that any intelligent man should think that here is the final disproof of Theism. At all events nothing can be falser than the italicized affirmation that —'intellectual necessity has but travelled one stage further back, to confront exactly the same problem over again.' It has done nothing of the kind. For most assuredly it is *not* 'the same problem,' seeing that for Theism there is

¹ Though one would have thought that so keen a controversialist, with such literary supporters, would not have referred to the 'recent discoveries of Eckstein' (*sic*).

here no problem at all. All that the principle of causation demands, is, that, for every event or phenomenon there must be adequate cause. But God, as postulated by Theism, is neither phenomenon nor event, but the Cause of all. Whether we can apprehend His nature, or not, is utterly irrelevant. We do not 'make the mystery darker with a name.' We acknowledge the mystery, indeed, but we acknowledge it just because it is rational and all else is irrational. Theism affirms that an endless regress of causes and effects is unthinkable. To make causation thinkable, there must be some originating prime cause which is not an effect. If that is denied, causation becomes a mere lunatic dream, and evolution a mocking fable. From poverty of language we speak of God as the great First Cause—first, i.e. in order of thought. But to demand then, a Cause for the first cause, is simply to demand that what is first shall at the same time be second; and to insist that the great cause of all shall, at the same time, not be the cause of all, being in itself an effect. Such a self-stultifying attitude only suffices, therefore, to open the door for all those other reasons for Theism which are set forth by competent Christian thinkers, though entirely unnoticed in Mr. Godfrey's booklet.

(2) Thirteen pages are next devoted to the problem of evil, but a detailed reply is as unnecessary as here impossible. Everything that this writer points out has been reiterated by others, hundreds of times, and has been faced by Christian thinkers quite as boldly and fully as by Agnostics. In this latest indictment of Christian Theism there are at least seven glaring fallacies, which admit of elaborate disproof, such as can only be summarised in a review.

(i) The first and greatest blunder follows closely upon the writer's misrepresentations above noted concerning 'predestination.' But it will be best to let him state it in his own words. After a lurid description of the main features in life's dark side, he suggests that

'Any possible presentation of Theism only makes confusion worse confounded—for, apart from all subsidiary questions of sin and salvation, you have, back of the whole complication, the one supreme, independent, omnipotent Will, purposing and planning the whole thing, not only in its vast outlines, but in all the minutiae of its detail—conceiving and arranging every enormity, every abortion, every pain, every weird and wicked thing, as surely as every beauty, every glory, every gladness, inspiration, or perfection.'

This summary, we may presume, is the very worst that the author—or 'Rationalism'—can say against Christian Theism. As such we welcome it—for it is altogether supremely and demonstrably false. The moral philosophy of a writer who talks about—'*subsidiary* questions of sin,' sufficiently condemns itself. It is amazing that any thoughtful man should fail to see the colossal contradiction in terms which is again here perpetrated. An 'omnipotent will, arranging'—that is, compelling—'every wicked thing' is entirely unthinkable. There never was, or will be, a wicked 'thing' at all. And if a deed is wicked, the doer of it cannot have been compelled. For that which results from compulsion has no moral quality at all—any more than has the rifle with which a man commits murder. No 'omnipotent will,' therefore, can 'plan' a moral 'enormity.' For if it is planned—that is, compelled—it ceases to be moral, or immoral. The plain truth is well put by Maurice Maeterlinck—who certainly is no orthodox Christian—when he writes that

'poverty, disease, mental weakness, are not due to nature but to human injustice. The relic of mystery when human injustice and wrong are subtracted, will nearly lie in the hollow of a philosopher's hand,'

Whilst the whole case is truly summarised by Dr. Tennant, when he says that

'Responsibility for the possibility of moral evil, and for the opportunities for its realization, lies with God ; responsibility for the actuality of moral evil lies with man.'

Should any one, unthinking, cry out against even the possibility of moral wrong, it is for ever enough to reply that if evil were impossible, good would be equally so—

and human life would be nothing more than the mechanical jostle of automata.

(ii) No attempt whatever is made throughout this entire indictment to distinguish between physical and moral—between pain and evil. Such confusion could only be justified on the ground that we humans are what Mark Twain declared—‘machines and nothing more’—or ‘things,’ as Mr. Blatchford wrote. To both of which, our own inde-feasible consciousness gives the lie direct. But the true and vast distinction alters the whole situation, as Maeterlinck suggests.

(iii) Another enormous fallacy here, is the immeasurable one-sidedness of this whole representation of humanity’s environment. To speak of Christian Theism as involving

the inscrutable decrees of one who, whilst professing all the perfections, including love, empties upon the objects of his affection, along with his good things, a perfect Pandora’s box of every kind of woe

is worse than a ‘blundering mistake’—for it is grossly unfair to facts. One would think from such a cartoon that human life was a dreary, miserable desert, with only one or two oases here and there to yield comfort or happiness. Whereas the truth is exactly the opposite. Life is not all black save just a few streaks of white; but mostly white with comparatively few streaks of black. The falsity of Haeckel’s representation of nature—as a ‘cockpit of tortured animals’—and of this writer’s quotation from Mr. Robertson that—‘the processes of Nature are such as no good man would dream of carrying on,’ has been exposed again and again. The refutation cannot be repeated here. But the affirmation is utterly true that in every respect, the mystery of good is measurelessly greater than the mystery of evil; whilst the mystery of pain is—even when faced to the uttermost—a mere trifle compared with that mystery of painlessness which most of the 1,700 millions of humanity embody every hour of every day.

(iv) It is a very tempting and would be a very easy

task, to show that, for men and women at least, the assumption that pain is synonymous with evil, is utterly false. A painless world is but a child's dream of fairy land, embodying a kindergarten philosophy. Our author speaks of —'the manhood which in the individual we associate with self-reliance and self-help.' But therein he endorses that very conflict of life—body and soul—which he so vehemently condemns. A world of lotus eaters would never breed men and women. The universal prevalence of human ease, with pleasures galore, would only produce a crop of useless imbeciles, or greedy beasts. In not a few respects, pain is our greatest benefactor and truest teacher.

(v) No one doubts that there is a 'mystery of pain'—that is, an excess of pain, beyond all that seems to be necessary for moral discipline; a depressing residue when we have conquered all we can; a bewildering indiscriminateness in its incidence, which makes life harder to reconcile with faith, than reason. But it is Christian Theism which Mr. Godfrey attacks; and it is Christian Theism alone which—on the authority of Christ, not of science or philosophy—speaks of a Heavenly Father. If this be true, another light altogether is thrown upon life's conflicts. 'Rationalism' can only say that the divine Fatherhood is too good to be true. But that does not prove Christ to have been either deceiver or deceived. Certainly nature—in spite of Tennyson—is *not* so 'red in tooth and claw' as to 'shriek against' His testimony. This, I am aware, is assertion. But it can be, and is, abundantly justified in fact. Then, just as a mother does many things for her babe which it neither appreciates nor approves, and a father often contradicts and pains his children for their good, those who accept Christ's representation of God can afford to trust Him, even though sometimes it be in the bitter dark. They are well warranted in their belief that 'all things are working together for good.' Nothing in science, or in philosophy, makes such a faith irrational, however much it may contradict a superficial Hedonism.

(vi) No indictment of Christian Theism is fair, or indeed logical, which ignores the far-reaching future. It is not here a question of demonstrating human immortality; or disproving Haeckel's 'thanatism'; or estimating Spiritism. The truth that has to be faced before any such contemptuous dismissal of Christian Theism as Mr. Godfrey's can be warranted, is that belief in God, as the New Testament represents Him, is inseparably bound up with a post-mortem future for human beings. Whether 'Rationalism' accepts or denies that future, it is an inalienable part of Christian faith. As such it comes into account—with all its infinite possibilities—at least sufficiently to make far too rash and hasty, any sweeping condemnation of that fraction of the Divine plan of things which is here open to our narrow and feeble vision. Only an absolute demonstration of Atheism could render this consideration invalid. Which is impossible.

(vii) Last, yet not least, in its misrepresentation, is Mr. Godfrey's repeated suggestion that Christian Theism weakens the philanthropy of its adherents. A falser charge could not be made. It is nothing less than a libel to describe Christian faith to-day as —'a terrifying, emasculating, and confusing theology'—'the heart's ease of those who have remained unprogressively consistent and unthinkingly complacent' at the woes of humanity. It is difficult indeed to estimate courteously such a falsity as this:—

I am convinced that the disposition abroad to-day to condone cruelty and injustice in a thousand forms, to wink at or indulge in many kinds of iniquity, derives its sanction to an enormous extent from the subtle idea that evil is only good in disguise, that a perfect God is behind it all, and will bring all right in the end. Remove the notion of divine permission and intention from this seething mass of evil, and less composedly should we look upon it, less recklessly ourselves tamper with it.

The philosophical fallacies in this wild kind of talk have been sufficiently exposed above. But in the realm of fact, such gross misrepresentations are unpardonable. Is it true that believers in 'Christ's thought of God' condone

evil, or neglect humanitarian duty to-day, by reason of their faith? No; it is an utterly false and unworthy suggestion on the part of any 'Rationalist.' The very opposite is emphasized in every day's life. In public services very many, if not most, of the advocates of social reform, and fighters against injustice, are devoted Christians. Whilst as regards philanthropy—in its widest, tenderest, most practical sense—Christian Churches to-day, with all their faults, are doing more in one week than all 'Rationalism' has done in the whole course of its history. If Mr. Godfrey does not know this, it is time he did.

III.—THE SUBSTITUTE FOR CHRISTIAN THEISM

'What then?'—this writer asks, when his pseudo-iconoclasm is finished. He may well ask it—and we will appreciate his answer.

But now if we drop Theism what have we? Simply an Emergence, starting in independent, unrelated atoms, taking shape presently in worlds, developing in wondrous growths with ever more and more vital energy, bursting at last into conscious life, advancing through countless stages of animal existence, at length evolving man—man with all his power of thought, contrivance, speech.

Only space is needed to show that almost every word here involves a logical fallacy. If this is rationalism, human reason is in a parlous condition. For this whole suggestion tramples ruthlessly upon the fundamental axiom of our reasoning. An 'Emergence'—why a capital E?—from nothing, starting without cause, in 'unrelated' atoms developing, bursting, evolving, by sheer chance, into human personality! If that is not irrational, and unthinkable, nothing is. An emergence indeed! Then either from nothing, or from something. If the former, reason is dethroned. If the latter, then the only 'something' adequate to the effect is God as represented in Christian Theism. So that it is another libel to represent Theists as 'willing to be deceived;' as it is also false to fact to aver that they 'picture to themselves a God different from that which all phenomena and all events declare.' It is, more-

over, another travesty—or rather, as the context plainly shows, an inexcusable perversion—of Scripture, to suggest that the ‘awful meaning’ of the words in Isaiah lv. 8, is that ‘at any time God may do what to us would be the worst and unkindest thing, and still be justified.’ It is equally false to say that the ‘thought of God is even now seen to be a decaying superstition.’ There are more millions of intelligent believers than ever to testify to the contrary.

But here we must pause. Very much more might be truly added in demonstration of the irrationality of this whole brochure; but it is only necessary to make one other remark. There is no warrant whatever for the semi-sneer of the ‘foreword,’ that Theists ‘have taken all meaning out of the word “truth,” making it signify only “comfort.”’ That is a slander. But the element of comfort does come into consideration,—as even Strauss so pathetically acknowledged. And assuredly there is no comfort anywhere, anyhow, anywhen, in a bare ‘emergence,’ which comes from nothing, contains nothing, accounts for nothing, promises nothing. The Apostolic contrast cannot but stand out in glorious relief—‘Now the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, that you may abound in hope in the power of the Holy Spirit.’ Mr. Godfrey talks of ‘the new Gospel of to-day.’ ‘Gospel’ is generally supposed to mean good tidings. Will some one, gifted with abnormal vision, discover for us the ‘good tidings’ in this—which is the best ‘Rationalism’ has to offer us, according to Mr. Godfrey’s last word?

I ask the unpampering breath
That fits me to endure
Chance, and victorious Death,
Life, and my doom obscure,
Who know not whence I am sped,
Nor to what port I sail.

If truth drove us to such despair, there would indeed be neither help nor hope. But it does not.

FRANK BALLARD.

WESLEY'S WIT AND HUMOUR

'IT has been said that Wesley's character lacks charm, that mighty antiseptic. It is not easy to define charm, which is not a catalogue of qualities, but a mixture. Let no one deny charm to Wesley who has read his *Journal*. . . . Read the *Journal*, which is a book full of plots, plays, and novels, which quivers with life, and is crammed full of character.' So writes Augustine Birrell, and no one who has read the *Journal* can doubt the truth of his judgement. Wesley had not only charm, but possessed what is often denied to him, style, and no small sense of humour. We find his character revealed in his prose—for there we have forthrightness, incisiveness, trenchancy. When we meet him in controversy, we note that he wields a powerful sword, and that when his opponent jousts with him, he is often swiftly unsaddled by the directness of Wesley's blows. There is no Ariel nor Puck about Wesley, nothing that makes us wonder whether he had travelled in fairyland—there is a strength of will and a sense of the actual, which leaves little room for 'charm'd magic casements, opening on the foam of perilous seas, in faery lands forlorn.' Sometimes his judgements are hard—but we must never forget that it is difficult for a man who rises steadily morning by morning at four, to judge kindly a race that congratulates itself on being down for breakfast at eight-thirty.

There is none of the glittering, bejewelled style of Traherne in Wesley, nor of the quaint conceits of Lamb, nor of the colour of R. L. S., nor of the mosaic-working of Walter Pater. But that is not the same confession as to deny that Wesley has the gift of style. R. L. S. preferred 'twopence coloured to penny plain,' Wesley chose 'the penny plain.' But a plain style is not the same as a faulty one. Wesley's sentences are without ambiguity,

and for terseness and succinctness have been rarely excelled. the *Journal* is a triumph of 'style.'

Wesley kept a *Journal* for over fifty years, and it is rarely dull, nearly always full of interest, and often fascinating. Books do not become great unless a great master writes them. We no longer say that Boswell by a lucky accident, and through an extra amount of idiocy, wrote the greatest biography in our language. We see now his gift of selection, his power of grouping, his vitality, his eyes that saw everything, and we stand in amazement at the gifts of a man who can take us with Johnson to the Dilly dinner. Wesley was unconsciously a great man of letters, and we see the fullest revelation of his gifts in the *Journal*. He knew what to omit, and how to arrange his material. He avoided verbosity, and seems to steer clear from the perils of the rocks and shoals of 'journal' making. Wesley's style is limpid and his taste is for the plain and simple, and not for the highly decorative—'I now looked over a volume of Mr. Knox's Essays. But cannot admire his style at all. It is prim, affected, and highly frenchified.' There is nothing slipshod about Wesley's writing. He keeps to his own maxim—'No man should be above writing correctly.'

It is easy to see Wesley's limitations,—he has no eye for nature, but that is only another way of saying that he lived before Wordsworth; he never shook himself free from the habits of the 'Don,' but how could he? for he was nothing if not didactic. When we search the *Journal* and read the story of his love relations with Sophy Hopkey, we note with a smile that although a lover he is still a Don, for he reads with her Ephraim Syrus, Dean Young's and Mr. Reeves's *Sermons*, and John Owen. Poor child! There is no doubt that Hampson was right when he said, 'The tutor was in many of his writings too conspicuous.' (Hampson, *Life of Wesley*, Vol. iii, 162.) His humour is—as Birrell says, 'of the species donnish.' We note

that his relationship to his preachers is often that of a Don to an undergraduate—'I spent an hour in the morning with our preachers, as I used to do with my pupils at Oxford.'

But why dwell upon this?—for surely it is obvious that a man's life is tinctured by the dyes with which he works. Wesley's style is an expression of himself, he did not manufacture a manner of writing. His love of order, his habits of life, his credulity, his love of men and women, his restless and insatiable desire to know, all these things found expression in his writing. We know that he owes much to the writings of Addison. One of the most delightful traits in Wesley is to be found in the fact that his affection for his old school never waned, but waxed stronger and stronger. In the midst of a crowded life he often stole away to walk in the grounds of Charterhouse. Some of his 'works' he wrote there, at the house of a schoolmaster friend. No doubt his appreciation of Addison would be increased by the fact that they were both sons of Charterhouse. Some of the early entries in his diary reveal Wesley in the coffee houses of Oxford reading the *Spectator*—again we see him at Wroot during the summer of 1726—

May, Sat. 21. Writ sermon: learnt Alexis: read *Spectator*.

Mon. 23. Writ sermon: learnt a tune: read *Spectator*.

Recently a first edition (of the year 1711) of Addison's works was bought by one known to me, and on the fly-leaf of each of the four volumes is written—E Libris J Westley E Coll Linc. This being his copy—for this spelling of the name is one which was often used by him. There are references to Addison in Wesley's works; but the best reference to Addison is to be found in the style of Wesley. He has not Addison's lightness of touch, for Wesley cannot skilfully handle the rapier, although he can rain truncheon blows upon his foes: neither has he the gift of portraiture to

anything like the same degree as the writer of *The Spectator*, although he can so depict men and women as to make them stand vividly before your eyes, and if that is not artistry, what is ? But they both have what for a better phrase we term 'honesty of style'—there is no *double entendre* about their use of words, they are never involved or tortuous, and each of them has charity. Certainly Wesley has not the gentle humour of Addison, but that he has humour we hope to show clearly. It was in the school of Addison that Wesley learned directness, the power of seeing the goal and of marching straight to it. Wesley would have assented to Dr. Johnson's words: 'Whosoever wishes to attain an English style, familiar but not coarse, and elegant but not ostentatious, must give his days and nights to the volumes of Addison.' There is a pithiness about Wesley's writings which is only acquired by a man who sees clearly what he wants. He tells us: 'I spoke with closeness and pungency'—that is also a fair description of his style in writing. He loves simplicity of style, for he loved simplicity of life.

'I began expounding the deepest part of the Holy Scripture, namely the first Epistle of St. John, by which, above all other, even inspired writings, I advise every young preacher to form his style. Here are sublimity and simplicity together, the strongest sense and the plainest language.' (July 18, 1765.)

We learn Wesley's views on style in his introduction to his hymn-book. 'Here is nothing turgid or bombast, on the one hand, or low and creeping, on the other. Here are no *cant* expressions ; no words without meaning.' In a letter to the Rev. Mr. Furry, he writes : 'What is it that constitutes a style ? Perspicuity, purity, propriety, strength, and easiness, joined together. . . . Stiffness in writing is full as great a fault as stiffness in behaviour. . . . As for me, I never think of my style at all ; but just set down the words that come first. Only when I transcribe anything for

the press, then I think it my duty to see every phrase be clear, pure, and proper. Conciseness (which is now, as it were, natural to me) brings *quantum sufficit* of strength. If, after all, I observe any stiff expression, I throw it out, neck and shoulders.' (July 15, 1764.) Wesley points to his greatest gift in style—conciseness. No one can say a thing more swiftly and surely. His style was 'pedestrian,' using that word in its highest sense, for as Sir Walter Raleigh wisely says—'The best prose is rightly called pedestrian; at every step it must find a foothold on the ground of experience, firm enough to support its weight.' We note especially the trenchancy and compactness of his writing in what he would have called his 'collections' of books. If the author angers him, Wesley gives a few slashing strokes of his broadsword and the author and his work are demolished. What mordant criticism this is on Voltaire!—'On the road I read Voltaire's *Memoirs* of himself. Certainly never was a more consummate coxcomb. But even his character is less horrid than that of his royal hero, Frederick the Great. . . . What a pity his father had not beheaded him in his youth, and saved him from all this sin and shame!' (Aug. 26, 1784.) There is a finality about such criticism. He can make merry in his comments: 'In riding to Lisburn I read Mr. Rollin's *Ancient History*. Could so masterly a writer make so palpable blunders? Or are they owing to the translator? I have observed many as gross as that in the fourth volume: "A revered old age was the fruit of Gelon's wisdom. . . . He was succeeded by Hiero, his eldest brother. This young prince—" How, if Gelon enjoyed revered old age, could his eldest brother be young after his death?' (May 10, 1758.) A hit, a very palpable hit, Mr. Wesley. We note that he was reading this book while riding—how quick his mind worked, how he must have been absorbed in the history, and how implicitly he trusted himself to the sure-footedness of his horse!

It is interesting in reading the *Journal* to stumble across Wesley's reference to Butler's *Analogy*. 'I went on reading that fine book, Bishop Butler's *Analogy*. But I doubt it is too hard for most of those for whom it is chiefly intended. Freethinkers, so called, are seldom close thinkers. They will not be at the pains of reading such a book as this. One that would profit them must dilute his sense, or they will neither swallow nor digest it.' It is refreshing to find that he read, in the year of its issue, Boswell's *Account of Corsica*. How different were Boswell and Wesley!—we know they met, and we remember also that they wrote the two books which every one must know by heart who would really enter into the eighteenth century.

In the *Journal* we note that Wesley was not afraid of using a dangerous weapon—irony. He uses it sparingly, and, probably for that reason, effectively. He tells of a friend who was cured of a pleurisy by applying, on his advice, a brimstone plaster. 'In a few hours he was perfectly well. Now to what end should this patient have taken a heap of drugs, and lost twenty ounces of blood? To what end? Why, to oblige the doctor and apothecary. Enough! Reason good!' (Feb. 16, 1757.) Surely Wesley must have chuckled to himself when he wrote this passage: 'There is a certain man, Mr. Allen, who said of extemporary prayer—"I will prove it to a demonstration to be no prayer at all. For you cannot do two things at once. But thinking how to pray, and praying, are two things. Ergo, you cannot both think and pray at once!" Now may it not be proved by the same demonstration that praying by a form is no prayer at all?—e.g. "You cannot do two things at once. But reading and praying are two things. Ergo, you cannot both read and pray at once." Q. E. D.'

His comments on doctors and their cures are at times bitterly caustic. Here is one—'Now the grand fashionable medicine for twenty diseases is mercury sublimate! Why is it not a halter or a pistol? They would cure a little

more speedily.' (June 14, 1773.) He must have written that with a merry twinkle!

Sometimes there is a facetious touch in his description: 'In the afternoon I came to Ashby-de-la-Zouch. I saw but one trifler among them all, which, I understood, was an attorney. Poor man! If men live what I preach, the hope of his gain is lost.' (March 26, 1764.) Here is another reference to the legal profession—'I breakfasted with Mr. B., a black swan, an honest lawyer.' (Oct. 2, 1764.) Sometimes his comments on his congregations are withering: 'I preached at Redriff chapel, a cold, uncomfortable place, to a handful of people, who appeared to be just as much affected as the benches they sat on.' (Dec. 7, 1779.) There may have been a certain stiffness about Wesley, but it soon passed away. How swiftly he adapted himself to new conditions! Here is the comment of the Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, concerning his preaching to the miners at Pelton. 'One of the old colliers, not much accustomed to things of this kind, in the middle of the sermon began shouting amain, for mere satisfaction and joy of heart. But their usual token of approbation (which somewhat surprised me at first) was clapping me on the back.' (March 17, 1743.) Do we not talk rather foolishly at times of the hauteur of Wesley? No proud man could talk in this delightful way of being clapped on the back by miners.

There is a quaint picture and a caustic comment under the date of March 31, 1764. 'An odd circumstance occurred during the morning preaching. It was well only serious persons were present. An ass walked gravely in at the gate, came up to the door of the house, lifted up his head and stood stock still, in a posture of deep attention. Might not the "dumb beast reprove" many who have far less decency, and not much more understanding?' How swift his comments are!—he packs circumstance and comment into a narrow space and then moves on. 'I preached at

seven on "Awake, thou that sleepest." And never was more need; for a more sleepy audience I have not often seen.'

Some one has said that 'Wesley was a great man who lived amongst little folk.' There is something to be said in defence of that saying, but it is misleading. We frankly admit that he never became like Francis of Assisi, a little brother amongst little brothers. He retained in his own hands the authority over his community, yet did not cling to it as a lover of power, but because he knew that the only hope for his Society was unity of command. He was a great man amongst the little and the unknown, but did not play the part of the great man. From the testimony of those who knew him best we find that he was approachable, friendly, and not without a certain gaiety. There is that revealing letter of Thomas Walsh: 'There are three or four persons that alarm and entice my natural propensity to levity. You, sir, are one by your witty proverbs.' (Quoted Standard Edition, Vol. vi, p. 10.) He loved simple folk best—frequently he refers to the weariness which comes upon him in the presence of the rich: 'I spent an agreeable hour at a concert of my nephews. But I was a little out of my element among lords and ladies. I love plain music and plain company best.' (Jan. 25, 1781.) What a priceless comment is the following: 'The congregation were gay, genteel people: so I spake on the first elements of the gospel. But I was still out of their depth. Oh, how hard it is to be shallow enough for a polite audience!' (Aug. 25, 1771.) His love for miners was great, and his regard for them too. He took them as a sort of standard of excellence. At Scarborough he comments on the elegant room, then he adds: 'We had as elegant a congregation. But they were as attentive as if they had been Kingswood colliers.' (June 24, 1776.)

He was a far more adaptable man than the world has pictured him: here is a sketch quoted by Hampson in his *Life of Wesley*. 'While the grave and serious were

charmed with his wisdom, his sportive sallies of innocent mirth delighted even the young and the thoughtless, and both saw, in his uninterrupted cheerfulness, the excellency of true religion.' (Vol. iii, p. 226.) Let us not forget '*the sportive sallies of innocent mirth*'! He did not frown upon the new ways of some of the young. When he was staying at New Mills, Wesley's host was Mr. Beard, 'whose daughter he defended against the charge of finery in dress. For,' said Wesley, 'I do not wish to see young people dress like their grandmothers.' (*Journal*, Vol. vi, p. 100, footnote.) Here is the estimate of a contemporary who bears witness to his *bonhomie*: 'No cynical remarks on the levity of youth entered his discourse. . . . The happiness of his life beamed forth in his countenance. . . . Every look showed how fully he enjoyed 'the gay remembrance of a life well spent,' and wherever he went he diffused a portion of his own felicity. Easy and affable in his demeanour, he accommodated himself to every sort of company, and showed how happily the most finished courtesy may be blended with the most fervent piety. For my own part, I never was so happy as while with him, and scarcely ever felt more poignant regret than at parting from him; for I well knew I should never look upon his like again.' Hampson quarrelled with Wesley, left the Methodists, and wrote a *Life of Wesley*. Here is his striking witness to Wesley's gaiety—all the more valuable, as it comes from a somewhat hostile source: 'His manner in private life was the reverse of cynical or forbidding. It was sprightly and pleasant to the last degree. . . . *It was impossible to be long in his company without partaking his hilarity.* His cheerfulness continued to the last, and was as conspicuous at fourscore as at one-and-twenty.' (Hampson, vol. iii, p. 179.) As we read the *Journal*, we find much evidence of this hilarity and humour. Even when he describes an occasion of danger, he sometimes inserts a humorous touch: 'Clods and stones flew about on every side, but

they neither touched nor disturbed me. When I had finished my discourse, I went to take coach; but the coachman had driven clear away. We were at a loss, till a gentlewoman invited my wife and me to come into her coach. She brought some inconveniences on herself thereby, not only as there were nine of us in the coach, three on each side, and three in the middle, but also as the mob closely attended us, throwing in at the windows (which we did not think it prudent to shut) whatever came next to hand. But a large gentlewoman who sat in my lap screened me, so that nothing came near me.' (April 24, 1752.) The ways of Providence are passing strange!! Sometimes, though rarely, he enlivens his *Journal* with a good story which does not spring out of the day he chronicles. He describes a congregation at Durham, and says, 'Three or four gentlemen put me in mind of the honest man at London, who was so gay and unconcerned while Dr. Sherlock was preaching, concerning the Day of Judgement. One asked, "Do you not hear what the doctor says?" He answered, "Yes; but I am not of this parish."' (July 4, 1757.)

Surely Wesley must have smiled to himself when he wrote the entry of July 25, 1757. Michael Fenwick was troubled because hitherto he had not been mentioned in the *Journal*. Wesley refers to him, but in this wise. 'About one I preached at Clayworth. I think none was unmoved but Michael Fenwick, who fell asleep under an adjoining hayrick.' There is something facetious in the way in which Wesley refers to the excuses of captains: 'I never knew men make such poor, lame excuses as captains did for not sailing. It put me in mind of the epigram,

There are, if rightly I methink,
Five causes why a man should drink;

'which, with a little alteration, would just suit them.

There are, unless my memory fail,
Five causes why we should not sail.
The fog is thick; the wind is high;
It rains; or may do by and by;
Or—any other reason why—

All readers of the *Journal* have noticed that Wesley was convinced that the Kingdom of God cometh not by disputation—in this he was a Franciscan. Here is his quaint and comical reference to a discussion with an Anabaptist—‘I had a visit from Mr. S., an honest, zealous Anabaptist teacher. Finding he *would* dispute, I let him dispute, and held him to the point till between eleven and twelve o’clock. By that time he was willing to take breath. Perhaps he may be less fond of dispute for the time to come.’ (Jan. 13, 1746.)

One of the raciest passages in the *Journal* shows his reluctance to engage in controversy, yet, when launched upon it, he could take his part eagerly and effectively. ‘I stopped a little at Newport Pagnell, and then rode on till I overtook a serious man, with whom I immediately fell into conversation. He presently gave me to know what his opinions were: therefore, I said nothing to contradict them. But that did not content him: he was quite uneasy to know whether I held the doctrine of the decrees as he did; but I told him over and over, “we had better keep to practical things, lest we should be angry at one another.” And so we did for two miles, till he caught me unawares and dragged me into the dispute before I knew where I was. He then grew warmer and warmer; told me I was rotten at heart, and supposed I was one of John Wesley’s followers. I told him, “No, I am John Wesley himself.” Upon which he would gladly have run away outright. But being the better mounted of the two, I kept close to his side, and endeavoured to show him his heart, till we came into the street of Northampton.’ (May 20, 1742.) What a picture, and what a mercy it was that Wesley had the faster steed!

Wesley faced all kinds of circumstances, but even the meanness of some of his own people could not keep back the quaint exclamation: ‘About four I came to —, examined the leaders of the classes for two hours, preached

to the largest congregation I had seen in Cornwall, met the society and earnestly charged them to beware of covetousness. All this time I was not asked either to eat or drink. After the Society some bread and cheese were set before me. I think verily — will not be ruined by entertaining me once a year!’ (Sept. 27, 1748.) Wesley, with his large-heartedness, took every opportunity of ministering to the broken in life. After a time he found Newgate closed to his message, and also Bedlam. ‘Having been sent for several times, I went to see a young woman in Bedlam. But I had not talked with her long before one gave me to know that none of these preachers were to come there. So we are forbid to go to Newgate, for fear of making them wicked; and to Bedlam, for fear of driving them mad!’ (Feb. 22, 1750.)

It is a most difficult task to reproduce vividly a scene by means of words, but how wonderfully Wesley depicts his encounter with Beau Nash, the profligate Master of the Ceremonies at Bath! (June 5, 1739.) There is no need to quote the interview, for it is so well known.

Wesley, being an excellent Latinist, must have enjoyed the retort of an opponent, of whom he speaks: ‘One (who, I afterwards heard, was a dissenting teacher) asked me when I had done, “*Quid est tibi nomen?*” and on my not answering, turned in triumph to his companions and said, “Aye, I told you he did not understand Latin!”’ (Aug. 25, 1741.)

Wesley had enough playfulness about him to rejoice in the discomfiture of his foes: ‘The beasts of the people were tolerably quiet till I had nearly finished my sermon. They then lifted up their voices, especially one, called a gentleman, who had filled his pocket with rotten eggs; but, a young man coming unawares, clapped his hands on each side, and mashed them all at once. In an instant he was perfume all over; though it was not so sweet as balsam.’ (Sept. 19, 1769.)

There is a racy piece of description of a scene at a service at Newark. 'Only one big man, exceeding drunk, was very noisy and turbulent, till his wife (*fortissima Tyndaridarum!*) seized him by the collar, gave him two or three hearty boxes on the ear, and dragged him away like a calf. But at length he got out of her hands, crept in among the people, and stood as quiet as a lamb.' (June 12, 1780.)

What a delightful lover of the open air Wesley was! He hated stuffy buildings and preaching-houses which were as hot as an oven. On one occasion, he tells us in the *Journal*, he broke the window to let in some air. He wrote, 'I must be on my horseback for life, if I would be healthy.' He felt that health comes only to the man who gallops along the high-roads—'As long as I live,' said Wesley, 'the itinerating preachers must itinerate.' What scorching scorn there is in this passage! 'I had a visit from Mr. B—— grown an old, feeble, decrepit man; hardly able to face a puff of wind or to creep up and down stairs! Such is the fruit of cooping oneself in a house, of sitting still day after day!' (Jan. 30, 1777.) Six months after this Wesley wrote—'I have now completed my seventy-fourth year, and by the peculiar favour of God I find my health and strength, and all my faculties of body and mind, just the same as they were at four and twenty.' (July 28, 1777.)

What a playfulness we find in the entry of Sept. 25, 1786, written in Wesley's eighty-fourth year: 'I now applied myself in earnest to the writing of Mr. Fletcher's *Life*, having procured the best materials I could. To this I dedicated all the time I could spare, till November, from five in the morning till eight at night. These are my studying hours; I cannot write longer in a day without hurting my eyes.'

Here is a strange entry: 'I buried the remains of John Cowmeadow, another martyr to loud and long preach-

ing.' (Nov. 5, 1786.) This man was not singular, for here is another of the same class: 'I took Thomas Cherry away with me, but it was too late; he will hardly recover. Let all observe (that no more preachers may murder themselves) here is another martyr to screaming!' (May 7, 1772.)

How delightful is this passage—'I heard *Ruth*, an oratorio. . . . The sense was admirable throughout; and much of the poetry not contemptible. This, joined with exquisite music, might possibly make an impression, even upon rich and honourable sinners.' (Feb. 13, 1765.) Hampson tells us that Wesley was 'a man of exquisite companionable talents.' Dr. Johnson said of Wesley, 'He can talk well on any subject,' and the only complaint he made against him was on the score that he stayed too brief a time—'John Wesley's conversation is good, but he is never at leisure. He is always obliged to go at a certain hour. This is very disagreeable to a man who loves to fold his legs and have his talk out, as I do.'

There was a stern side to Wesley, but he was a sunny soul. Southey says, 'His manners were almost irresistibly winning and his cheerfulness like perpetual sunshine.' He was imperturbable, and some of his quaintest sayings were uttered in the midst of difficult circumstances. We call to mind the occasion on which Wesley and Nelson slept in a field in Cornwall with Burkitt's *Notes on the New Testament*, as a pillow, and his merry call in the middle of the night—'Brother Nelson, let us be of good cheer: I have one whole side yet.' Age could not slay his mirth. When Wesley was in his eighty-fifth year, Entwisle, a young preacher of twenty, was riding by him on horseback, and was thrown suddenly. Making a somersault, he alighted on his feet unhurt. 'Well done, Joseph,' cried Wesley, 'I could not have done better than that myself.' (*Journal*, Vol. vii, p. 334, footnote.)

Rightly did Wesley affix on the front page of his *Primitive*

Physick, '*Homo sum : humani nihil a me alienum puto.*' Hampson says that he had 'an eye the brightest and the most piercing that can be conceived.' He had also an eye for things, for situations, for scenes, for characters. Wesley had great success in Ireland, and the Catholics showed great friendliness to him. Only a quick witted, agile, and adaptable man could have preached the gospel there with so little molestation. The *Journal* contains the story of the life of a man who strove to call the world to repentance—that was his crusade and his great campaign. But he used not only a few gifts to further this fight, but every gift, not forgetting that of pungent wit and humour.

We are familiar with many pictures of Wesley—we see the Epworth Rectory in flames, and the child saved as a 'brand from the burning'; we gaze at him as he stands on his father's tomb and preaches to the villagers in Epworth churchyard: we watch him as he quells the turbulent mob at Wednesbury; or we look at the bedroom where friends gather round the old saint as he passes away. These pictures are familiar to us all—but there is another, with more flaming colours, which is to be found in the gallery of the *Journal*, of a man who is tenderly human—even in his faults—of one who hated dullness, and to whom life was a fascinating and wonderful gift, who, while telling the story of the crowded days of a busy life, wrote one of the most fascinating books in the English language.

W. BARDSLEY BRASH.

THE MIDDLE-CLASS CLEAVAGE AND THE RISING GENERATION¹

THE effects of the War period upon literary productiveness have still finally to declare themselves. Its remarkable educational influences and aspects can be estimated already, and from much personal observation of the subject may be usefully considered now. Commentators who defy the Horatian maxim by beginning the tale of Troy with the Ilian egg discovered the cause of last autumn's mining troubles in the fact that the collier only began in 1775, by the Act 15 Geo. III, cap. 28, to receive the same treatment from the State as other workers for the public convenience and comfort. The sense of grievance in the worker's mind remained long after the ancient wrong had been healed. Why should the opulent owner of the soil, often a Duke or other noble of high degree, divide the excavated treasure with a few of his own order as partners, and reward with a beggarly pittance the men whose courage and skill brought it to the hearth-side of the idle rich? Anthracite, bituminous shale, and bitumen fed the flames over which ancient Britons and Roman centurions warmed their hands. Carbonaceous matter may have been brought to the surface, as some think, in Anglo-Saxon times, and may even have been exported to feed the hearth-fires of Imperial Rome. According, however, to Hume (Vol. I, p. 386, Routledge's 3-vol. edition), the first mention of English coal comes in the thirteenth century, when Henry III gave Newcastle-on-Tyne a licence for digging it. About

¹ *Victoria I, Edouard VII, Georges V*, par Jacques Bardoux; *Life of the Prince Consort*, by Sir Theodore Martin; *My Own Times*, by Lady Dorothy Nevill, edited by her son; *Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties*, by M. Ostrogorski, in two volumes (Macmillan, 1903); *La Convention*, by M. Jaurès.

the same time, between 1272 and 1307, the villeins ceased to be the absolute slaves of the soil, reaping their lord's corn, dragging or draining his fish-ponds and carting his timber for no other payment than the sufferance to exist on the ground he owned. The Middle Ages brought in the free labourer, licensed to engage his services to the best bidder. Sheep-shearing made the largest contribution to the national revenue. The middle class, in some of its grades, began to organize itself on a substratum of wool and coal. Neither of these was convertible into silver, gold, or other commodities till after an elaborate process of preparation. The experts of mechanical industry thus brought into being began with a grievance, sounded forth in notes prophetic of the complaints periodically made by their descendants throughout the ages. These two sources of wealth had conspicuously contributed to the creation of a new social order containing a variety of grades. At the head of these came the mercantile plutocracy, living in a state which rivalled the patriciate above, but connected also with the various classes below. This section of the body politic frequently allied itself with a *couche sociale*, the essential product of the Tudor period, for which no more suitable term can be found than 'the gentry.' The shrewdest, also quite the least known of the most forgotten among eighteenth-century political writers, Lord Auckland, was the first to expose the absurdity of exclusively attributing English pauperism to the suppression of the monasteries. Latimer, he reminds us, writing while the religious houses still flourished, dwells on the degrees by which popular distress had advanced through the depopulations that had turned once flourishing villages into deserts and left once industrious villagers without labour, and therefore without the means of subsistence.

Meanwhile the land, the condition and depository of civil power, had been passing from the great nobility, religious or secular, into entirely new hands. Such were

the gentry, who, now first heard of, combined social or political duties with agriculture and politics. The first Tudor king had restrained the feudal habits of the aristocracy by putting down the martial trains of his nobility and by removing the obstacles to the alienation and subdivision of landed estates. The men rendered available for occupations by the former of these measures were largely employed on sheep-walks, which had to be created for the purpose. In these they gradually acquired a proprietary interest, as well as seats in the lower House of Parliament. They never, like the Shire-knights or county members, became its backbone; but, though 'not the rose,' they lived very near it, and their influential companionship reflected increasingly honour and power on themselves. Before Stuart times, the popular Chamber very much resembled a Norway Storting in that it consisted of farmers, yeomen owning a few acres, pushing vestrymen, and village bosses. The seventh Henry's jealousy of the baronial landlords had been favoured by the law courts with their subversion of entails, and by the distribution over a wide area of Church lands. Hence that middle class which in the seventeenth as in the twentieth century did not consider its process of self-making complete till it could sport the M.P. suffix. Personally the middle-class M.P. did not derive any of his importance from his parliamentary style. It was rather the character for respectability of its individual members that redeemed the assembly to which he belonged from something like contempt. For 'Goodman Burgess,' in other words, the borough member, on all State occasions and in all public pageants was warned by the authorities to keep himself in his proper place, and received a smart tap from the usher's wand if he trespassed on a place reserved for his betters.

Nineteenth-century parliaments had no more variously influential members than the Whitbreads and Rathbones, not less legislatively essential to the aristocratic revolution

Whigs than the Greys themselves. Those historic families possessed ancestors who wore coat-armour in the second Crusade—the blue ribbon of patrician genealogy; they were also descended from City traders of less august antecedents whose highest ambition was reached when they became Lord Mayors. When Henry VII came to the throne (1485), English serfdom had absorbed itself in a new and higher order; bricklayers were called artificers and were titularly included in the gentry. A little later they were officially reminded of their native inferiority by a prohibition from dressing in all things like their betters. This statute, however, soon became a dead letter. The extension and organization of the middle class received a new impulse from its increasingly active identification with a branch of the titular aristocracy whom it did not a little to save from extinction. From generation to generation the Norman peers had slighted and schemed against the Saxon wearers of hereditary titles; the traditional spirit of these was not, however, crushed out. Determined to assert themselves and reclaim their cruelly sequestered acres, they found natural and potent allies in their trading compatriots. Here, then, was the earliest presage of the service which at a later day the new wealth was to render to the old acres, with results, social or political, of the happiest kind for all concerned. Monsieur Jaurès, in his latest writings on the subject, has shown the French Revolution of the eighteenth century to have been in its beginnings a middle-class movement. Our own Parliamentary wars of a hundred years earlier prevented the session of the Westminster Parliament from degenerating into a feeble series of hole-and-corner meetings. They brought together and co-related in a single system the collection of precedents, compromises, and opportunisms which, between fifty and sixty years afterwards, in the revolution of 1688, stamped itself with the hall-mark of the British Constitution. The decisive victory practically won in 1640 would have been

impossible but for the union of the smaller middle-class squires like Hampden and Pym with the remnant of the despised and reduced but still upon occasion active Anglo-Saxon nobility. The ten-pounders, created by the Whig Reform Act, 1832, were a middle-class rather than a Whig invention. The same influences produced county franchise. In the twentieth century the electoral emancipation of women had long enlisted the support of the professional orders as well as of social and political leaders like J. S. Mill, of noble-minded and sagacious women such as the third Marchioness of Salisbury and the fine feminine intellects that gathered themselves around her.

King Edward VII never forgot or failed practically to apply his father's wise, witty, often prophetically accurate words concerning the Royal relations to the chief and constantly changing national forces of the time. It might be impracticable to surmount the difficulties in the way of making the Court, as the Prince Consort desired, the constantly recruited centre of all that was best in the social and intellectual life of the time, the Prince Consort's lifelong vision. King Edward VII, however, succeeded in accomplishing one object that his father not only had deeply at heart but that towards the close of his life he impressed in more than one conversation on his son. The public value of private wealth, as the Prince so often said, depended entirely on the use made of it. Towards the nineteenth century's close, two among the most shrewdly observant men of the day, the then heir to the British crown and the editor of *The Times*, were equally struck by the beneficent possibilities of the cosmopolitan and constantly increasing wealth concentrated in the metropolis on the Thames, which the fall of the second French Empire had made the fashionable capital of the world. The new multi-millionaires seemed socially supplanting the old aristocracy of birth and land. The extravagance of its entertainments and its entire scale of life almost excluded from

the polite world in London many who, under a moderate régime, would have been its ornaments and arbiters. This served as the opportunity not so much of the native self-made Midases as of the gold, diamond, and oil kings who were daily establishing themselves as the magnates of Belgravia and Mayfair. The time had long passed when Queen Victoria might have exercised any directing influence in the new dispensation. Her eldest son was not only a coming King but, as those who had seen most of him knew best, a man of the world, with enormous experience of men and things (*My Own Times*, p. 205). His consummate, absolutely unfailing tact went together not only with intimate and unique knowledge of life in all its aspects, but with an instinct and habit of kindly action in himself and of becoming the cause of such action in others. Mr. Ralph Nevill could not have recalled our present Sovereign's father better than by quoting his clever and kindly mother's comparison of our late ruler to 'a social electric light, which when turned on illuminated everything within reach of its rays.' The British patriciate, as our latest Continental observer, M. Bardoux, has not failed to note, would seem to have contracted from its ancestral and national affinities an earnestness of effort and interest redeeming its occupations and pastimes from frivolity. The breeding of shorthorns, the supervision of stables and studs, the treatment of subsoils, have been accompanied by ungrudging expenditure of time and money to improve labourers' cottages and the sanitary conditions of daily existence. The plutocrats, native or from beyond seas, in the desire mentioned by M. Bardoux of Royal recognition, found there was no surer road to Court favour than to expend some of their spare millions in providing the resources for hygienic war against the most stubborn and terrible diseases that attack the human race. In that conflict Sir Ernest Cassel was only one among the monarch's readiest, most sympathetic, and munificent allies.

The industrial and economic history of last autumn may well recall another departure in the energies of the Crown made by King George's predecessor; he had already fulfilled the paternal counsel by converting mammon into a bulwark of monarchy. Labour itself was next employed to the same end. The Trade Unions had their representatives at the Windsor Castle garden-party in June, 1907, and the Right Honourable John Burns, the Labour representative, successively President of the Local Government Board and the Board of Trade, excited more interest among the company than the King of Siam or any other princely lion from east or west. Not one of his Siamese Majesty's surprisingly well-educated suite but saw in the social fusion on the Windsor slopes the secret and the guarantee of national stability, unprecedented in its design, unapproached elsewhere in its results. For the first time, as it seemed to him, nobles, commoners, and craftsmen mingled under the shadow of the palace in a perfectly natural manner and quite at their ease, because from time immemorial all the social varieties of the nation's life had been brought together by national duties and sports. Even so 'the spectacle would have been impossible had not England, under all dispensations, escaped the French danger of an exclusively centralized government and society.' This was said seven years before the world-wide convulsions whose shock could not but have its reactions on the miscellaneous aggregate of social groups, occupations, and interest known as the Middle Classes.

Till some way into the last quarter of the nineteenth century there still remained among us the healthy and spirited novelist of military life, James Grant, whose *Romance of War* carried on for the Army the work already done by Charles Lever, popularizing it in the same way that Captain Marryat had interested the youth of Great Britain, and indeed of the whole Western world, in the sister service. Grant, as a patriotic Scot, distinguished himself,

from other war novelists of his time by showing, especially, if I remember rightly, in *The Highlanders of Glen Ora*, the happy results with which a national school system embracing all orders of the community had prepared the sons of laird and crofter alike for the comradeship of the campaign, 1807 to 1815. The different conditions of Southron life, countless multitude engaged, and the battles extending over weeks, months, and even years, proved indeed that those of our race who were summoned from city office, manor-house, college, or even school, to roll back the tide of an individual's armed ambition on the fields of Belgium or France, had not degenerated from the qualities which, put forth by their fathers, shattered the yoke of Napoleonic tyranny. United, as for more than four years, stood our nation in arms, it was inevitable that the immense diversity of antecedents and the selection made for promotion from its ranks should have sometimes tried the unity of those composing it. The real strain, however, such as it may have been or is, belongs less to the time and conditions of war than of peace. The innumerable questions, some of them involving many technicalities, incidental to the daily life of those who served their country at home gradually created a little domestic bureaucracy, which on the whole co-operated cordially and effectively with municipalities that by the force of circumstances exercise more than their normal authority. The powers thus called into being would have been more than human if they had given universal satisfaction. Local control, whoever its depositories, must always face the charge of standing too much on its dignity. Apart from this, the genuine aptitude for administrative work shown in unexpected quarters excited a certain amount of criticism more jealous than appreciative. The feeling this left behind it has not disappeared since. It has often received the meed of State recognition.

Meanwhile the nation's religious life has presented as novel an outlet as its secular necessities for the remarkable

capacity of public service in an unconsidered section of the middle class. Coger's Hall and other non-academic debating societies, not less than the Oxford and Cambridge Unions, were once supposed to be ministerial or opposition recruiting-grounds for Parliamentary candidates with a natural turn for debate ; and the various speakers gradually convinced themselves that they might be addressing not only the Bride Lane assembly to which they belonged but some incognito Downing Street observer on the look-out for promising material. The elder Pitt, the great Lord Chatham, was constantly saying in this connexion that there were better fish in the sea than had already come out of it. He acted on this principle when he wished to secure for the Foreign Service one who had been with him at Eton and aroused the highest expectations of his political future. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Deism received no stronger blow than that dealt by Gilbert West and Lord Lyttelton, whose open mind in these matters led them to a belief in, and to a championship of, the Resurrection and the genuineness of Pauline Christianity. Gilbert West, while writing his well-known dissertation, received from his powerful school-fellow a pressing request to enter the Foreign Office. To-day, indeed, the accidents of Eton and Oxford association do not often produce invitations to that aristocratic department. Some advance, however, in that direction was made when places in the Civil Service began occasionally to be found for the pick of local war-workers. The reconstructive period following the war does not therefore seem fraught with those risks of middle-class extermination heard in so many quarters during the August of 1920.

As a fact, indeed, the most formidable rivals to this order are to be found within its own limits. Its higher section, having long secured all the advantages of liberal education, is firmly settled in State employment. Any challenge to its position will come not from above but from

below. The sons of the professional man, to whatever degree he may belong, or of the well-to-do trader, have been trained on much the same lines, if at establishments less famous, as the candidates sent up by Harrow or Rugby or the competitions of Burlington House and Cannon Row. These are now finding for the first time the unexpected rivalry of the Council schools, whose crack pupils have qualified by an admirably conducted curriculum to dispute the great prizes of civil industry with boys born to much higher advantages. The social discipline of war experience, the Food Controller's rations, and daily necessities prohibitively priced, have had their effect upon the nursery population; and infants not yet of school age sometimes teach their elders lessons in the economy of clothes and food. The average intelligence of the Council school-child has undergone a corresponding rise in all matters affecting his visible interest from day to day. A Cheltenham or Rugby boy who is free from vice habitually shows himself a shrewd and cautious man-of-the-world in miniature. To-day he finds his close rivals on a humbler social level in the Council day scholars who enjoy the blessing of decent and high-principled parentage. Qualities and conditions like these are the sure passport to the prize-winning not only in the elementary or secondary school but in the ordeal of after life. From the class thus developed and disciplined, it is not the service of the State alone that may, as it has actually begun to do, recruit itself. The Council schoolboy of the best sort has found that with comparatively little special preparation, if his ambitions lie in that direction, he need not fear the qualifying ordeal of Sandhurst, about equal in severity to the Oxford or Cambridge Little-go, though often an insuperable barrier to the sons of general officers. With further opportunities of self-improvement and a touch of mathematical genius he may even succeed in the competition for Woolwich. A former school-fellow, his brother, perhaps, or cousin, dreams of the gown rather than the

sword. Is he likely from natural gifts or tastes to be a promising aspirant for Holy Orders? Suppose that question to be affirmatively answered by a trustworthy referee: in that case he may be in a fair way of finding that he has carried the mitre in his school satchel, even as his martially-minded kinsman's knapsack has contained the field-marshal's bâton. The United Kingdom now enjoys the blessing of even more Anglican seminaries than universities. The inquiries made by those influential in such quarters have but to prove satisfactory; the choir-boy or acolyte of yesterday begins in one of these his preparations for the priesthood. Industrious as well as clever and ambitious, he is already being put in the way of reading the Greek Testament by the Anglican father, who soon discovered his real capacities and tastes. Some eighteen months of the King's College classes ensure everything necessary in the way of general culture quite as effectively as thrice that term of an attached studentship on the Isis or the Cam. There is no reasonable height of personal advancement in Church or State which may not be reached by the sufficiently endowed son of 'poor but honest parents,' according to the conventional description. The instances now given indicate an undoubted tendency but by no means a universal experience. The post-Reformation public schools, the earliest of which are Cheltenham and Marlborough, often attracting many day-boys, generally date from the middle of the nineteenth century, and brought within the reach of large families a training in the same 'ingenious arts,' invigorating traditions and discipline of character popularly looked upon up to that time as the monopoly of the great mediaeval foundation. Few people realize to-day that mechanics and artisans have at command for their children in the council and secondary schools relatively the same opportunities as were presented to professional parents, retired army officers, and others of limited income, during the epoch in which Bishop Percival became

first head master of Clifton, and which even now is far, probably, from being closed. Among living new public-school men, the Cliftonian Lord Haig is the most illustrious. Since death removed Lord James of Hereford, the oldest of Cheltenham worthies still happily with us is General Michael Weekes Willoughby. Among the civilian old boys of the school the best-known still remains Viscount Morley of Blackburn. On a humbler level the institutions that on the whole for the public good have largely supplanted the private venture schools bid fair to have as good reason as any of the seats of learning now referred to for satisfaction with the start in life secured by them for their pupils. Their teachers are in their way introducing as new and wholesome an era as was done by Arnold at Rugby (1828-1842) or by Edward Hawtrey during his nineteen years' Eton headship (1834-1853). The great thing with boys is not so much what they are made to learn but how they are taught. The educational principle inherent in this remark of the classicist, John Hookham Frere, is not lost sight of by the instructors to whose work attention has been here specially called. They may not unite in appreciation every class of parents or boys. The moral and mental service they are rendering the latter is already reacting and will continue to react for good on the community. The youth of the nation, it was an old Disraelian maxim, are the trustees of posterity; and the elementary schoolboys in every township or village who are now placing so many other lads on their mettle may justify their claim to be considered the rising generation's most serviceable assets. Parents may not always be of one mind concerning the new educational régime, and may have something to say about teaching their children above their station. Experience in this, as in other matters, will bring wisdom; by degrees the course through which their children are passing will come to be regarded as their birthright.

T. H. S. ESCOTT.

THE THOUGHTS OF KINGS

THE title of this charming and informing anthology¹ is a little misleading. The author, who writes not as a royalist but simply as a Frenchman, has succeeded in his aim, and has presented a selection of the thoughts of fifteen out of the fifty Kings of France in an attractive form, with copious and illuminating notes; but comparatively few of his excerpts answer to our notion of a *pensée*; in which, as Joubert says, 'the ambition of an author is to put a book into a page, a page into a phrase, and a phrase into a word.' Most of his extracts are more essayish than aphoristic; but whether the reflections, observations, and opinions he has chosen from a multitude of documents are diffuse or concentrated, they are used to show that the kings in question, though often weak, misguided, and tyrannical, were not the monsters of the prejudiced historian or the popular imagination, but men who, as a rule, exhibit in their writings much fairness of mind, a high sense of duty, moderation, and devotion to the golden mean; and some of whom displayed in rich abundance Shakespeare's 'king-becoming graces,—justice, verity, temperance, stableness, bounty, perseverance, mercy, lowliness, devotion, patience, courage, fortitude.'

St. Louis fitly leads the way, the fairest flower of Christian chivalry, the pure-souled, tender-hearted, stainless Parsifal of France. His famous letter to his son is given in full, and extracts from a less-known missive to his daughter, whom he playfully exhorts to revise her budget, and, when it is a question of buying, 'incline to the less rather than to the more.' Then follow extracts from Philippe le Bel on the horrors of war, and from Charles the Sixth, the well-

¹ *Pensées choisies des Rois de France, Recueillies et annotées.* Par GABRIEL BOISSY. (Paris: Grasset, 7f. 50.)

beloved, on 'Sweet Peace,' who contributes a beatitude which finds an echo in the writings of many of the later kings: 'Blessed the kings who shall be numbered with those who have loved peace on earth.'

Louis XI, 'that universal spider,' was too much engaged in the fabrication of the kingdom to give himself to speculations and reflection. He strikes the reader with the clearness and 'verdure' of his language. Like most of his successors he was wise enough to leave his ministers much freedom of action, often urging them to act according to circumstances. But when he issued positive orders he was as direct as he was peremptory: 'Tell that man Gaspard Cosse to be off, for I know well that he is acting for the king of Sicily; and if he will not go, put him in a sack and throw him into the river.' On another occasion during the wars, the enemy having gone into winter quarters, the king writes that he, too, is off wild boar hunting, so as not to lose the season, and to be ready in the spring to take and kill the English. He always tried to get in the first blow, knowing, as he said, that if he did not strike he would be struck. He was also a splendid business man, and with great shrewdness and sagacity he wrote to the experts and merchants all over the country urging them to make use of the franchises he had established so as to draw into France all that could augment and enrich her, whether it were the commerce of the Levant, which he would attract to Marseilles and thence dispatch through France by means of canals to England, Scotland, Holland, and Germany; or the experience of the Florentine jurists by which he hoped to profit for the reform of French law. To Louis XII is assigned a single page in which he describes himself as 'an amateur of peace,' and expresses his displeasure and regret that he has been obliged to defend his honour and that of his friends.

Francis I was one of the few French kings who were poets, and from one of his numerous poems here quoted, many of

them of great distinction, there stands out the phrase that has ever since been famous, and that came so pat to the lips of the King of the Belgians in his reply to the Kaiser's taunt, in the early years of the late war: 'All is lost, save honour.' Then follows a page or two of extracts against the pillage committed by his armies, and in deprecation of religious conflicts, from the rather doubtful letters of Francis II, whom Dr. Punshon describes in his lecture on the Huguenots, as 'the imbecile and sickly husband of Mary, Queen of Scots.'

Among his other great qualities Henry IV, Macaulay's 'Henry of Navarre,' reveals himself in the fifty pregnant pages devoted to him as a writer of the foremost rank, especially when we remember that when he wrote (between 1569 and 1610) neither the *Plutarch* of Amyot nor the *Essays* of Montaigne had had time to act on French language and French style. Nothing could exceed the lucidity of his thought and the subtle variety of his expression. Many of his phrases have passed into history, such as 'France for the French,' or the characteristic words he used when assuring his great minister, Rosny, of his frankness—'I am quite naked.' The three chief aspects of Henry's character are illustrated by extracts from his letters, setting forth the man, the soldier, and the king. His many-sided humanity comes out in the picture he draws of his pastime with his 'bambins,' crawling on the floor with all his children riding on his back, a picture which has often been reproduced of the ever-popular king down to the present day; in his playful missive to the queen—'Do not doubt I love you well, for you do all that I desire; that is the true way to govern me'; in his mandate to his friend, de Batz—'Come, make haste, run, fly; it is the command of thy master and the prayer of thy friend'; in his message to the threatening commons—'I have leapt over city walls and shall easily skip over barricades'; in his eloquent appeals for peace and unity and his well-

known project for a so-far passion-thwarted League of Nations; in his famous battle-cry—'Comrades! God is for us, here are His enemies and ours, here is your king. Up and at them! If your standards fail you, rally round my snow-white plume; you will find it in the way to victory and honour,' and, lastly, in innumerable sayings some of which for centuries have played their part as household words in France: 'Those who follow their conscience are of my religion, and, as for me, I belong to all those who are brave and good,' 'Absence is not the death of true friendship, it is, on the contrary, the school in which it is best learnt,' 'Distrust is the nurse of all factions,' 'Worldly considerations often are in conflict with those from heaven,' 'God loves right better than might,' 'Resolve maturely, execute promptly,' 'I pity my poor people: I know how ill-used it is,' 'To ruin the people is to rid myself by my own hand.'

The gem of the collection will come as a surprise to those who imagine that the modern love of landscape and the eye for scenery now so prevalent originated with Ruskin, or even with Rousseau. It shows how accurately Macaulay interpreted the sentiment of the Huguenots at the battle of Ivry in the lines—

Now let there be the merry sound of music and of dance,
Through thy cornfields green and sunny vines, O pleasant land of France.

I refer to the charming extract from one of Henry's letters to Madame de Gramont describing the picturesque region of Marans in Aunis on the Sèvre Niortaise. It is written with inimitable grace, and shows the king's poetic love of the very soil of France. Only Pierre Loti among French writers could have approached it in its picture of 'the happy isle'; and Loti, like the king, we must remember, is of Huguenot descent:—

'THE HAPPY ISLE.—I arrived here this evening to provide for the local guard. Ah, how I wish that you could have been here, too! It is the place best suited to your taste and humour I have ever seen. . . It is an island composed of bosky marshes where, at every hundred

paces, there are canals along which they bring the timber in boats. The water is clear and with little flow ; the canals are of all widths, the boats of all sizes. Among these deserts there are a thousand gardens which you can only reach by boat. The island has two leagues of windings thus surrounded. There is a river at the foot of the chateau in the middle of the town, which is as habitable as Pau. There are few houses without their own little boat at the door. This river spreads in two arms which bear not only big boats but ships of fifty tons. It is only two leagues from the sea. It is a canal rather than a river. Up stream come the large boats as far as Niort, twelve leagues away. There are endless mills and little isolated farms ; singing birds of every kind, and all sorts of sea-birds. I enclose you some of the feathers. As for fish, they are a monstrosity, in number, size, and price ; a big carp three sous, and a pike for five. It is a great place for traffic, and all by boat. The land is full of corn, and very beautiful. Here you may live pleasantly in peace and safely in time of war. Here you may rejoice with those you love, and here you may commiserate an absence. Ah, how it makes you sing ! . . .

Louis XIV, though more widely known through the splendours of his court, the eminence of his self-chosen ministers, and his own personal achievements as a ruler, does not lend himself so readily and so felicitously to the anthologist. No one amongst his most abject flatterers has ventured to compare le Roi Soleil to the brilliant writers of the golden literary age of France. Louis was no Racine or Molière or La Bruyère ; much less was he a Pascal or a Bossuet or a Fénelon ; nor, with all his pride and sense of kingly perquisites in glory, does he ever make such vain pretence. Yet he seldom said a foolish thing, and often did a wise one, and in the eighty pages here devoted to his writings are to be found innumerable well-turned phrases and many sayings which, by their good sense and grace, suggest some crowned Boileau or Nicole dealing with the problems and the difficulties of kingly rule. He regards himself as the most absolute of monarchs, but he has the grace and sense to see and say, ' When one can do all that one will, it is not easy to will only what one ought to do.' He says, ' L'Etat, c'est moi ! ' but he also says, ' The interest of the State ought always to be first and foremost,' and on his deathbed he said, ' I am going, but the State will remain when I am gone.' He regards the king as

the incarnate soul of the State and says that his '*métier de roi*' is 'grand, noble, and delicious, exercising here below a function all divine, so long as the ruler feels himself equal to his task'; and, in another place, as if in explanation of the famous saying, he adds, 'The prince is not made for himself alone: he should regard his greatness as the means and opportunity of doing the greatest good.' Other sayings may be roughly rendered thus: 'War, when it is necessary, is a justice, not only permitted, but commanded to kings; it is an injustice, on the contrary, when it can be avoided, and you can obtain the same thing by gentler means.' 'In giving us the sceptre God has given us that which seems to be the most glorious thing on earth; we ought, therefore, by giving Him our heart, to give Him that which is most agreeable to Him.' 'We ought to be at once humble in ourselves and proud of the position we occupy.' 'The whole art of economy consists, not in spending little, but in spending apropos.'

M. Boissy, who has a heart for 'men-against-odds,' goes out of his way to rehabilitate the one beheaded king of France, and seeks by copious extracts from his writings to justify his carefully-considered estimate of the life and character of Louis Seize. Stranger things have happened than the canonization of this distinguished and well-meaning but unfortunate and much misrepresented king. A nation that, after all these centuries, has welcomed and rejoiced in the recent apotheosis of Joan of Arc, may come in time to recognize the merits of the ruler whom the panic fury of the Revolution sent to the guillotine. Louis XVI, whom our author calls 'the modern Hamlet,' was not the '*gros cochon*' of Revolutionary tradition, but a scholar and a gentleman, fond of his books and versed in many of the sciences; 'smit with purity to the point of passion; good even to weakness; resolute in will, but without the virtue of acting; a striking personality, audacious, capable of conceiving great and even adventurous designs, equally

conscious of the majesty and utility of the monarchical institution and of the necessities of the new spirit, but incapable of deciding on the transformations which would have overcome the revolutionary forces arrayed against him. . . . Had he been less courageously faithful to his royal duty or less generous to the people and the nation, he might perhaps have saved himself, but he would have left to history a less pure example.' Unhappily, I have only room for a few of the shorter sayings here preserved:

'The best way to avenge oneself is not to resemble him who has done us the injury.' 'We should not receive the opinions of our fathers like children and simply because they were our fathers and have left them to us; but we should examine them, and follow the truth.'— 'Speaking generally, the French are not nearly so skilful in hiding their true sentiments as in penetrating those of others. Their extreme vivacity leads them rather to reveal themselves by indiscretion than to disguise themselves by artifice. . . . Their natural frankness betrays them, and when they utter a falsehood or spread a calumny they lower their eyes, they blush, they appear embarrassed, or at least they have not the same assurance and the same firmness as when they speak sincerely.'

In closing, I may add as a companion to the picture drawn by Henri Quatre an attempted translation of the closing lines of a letter from Louis XVIII to an unknown private friend. It comes in the midst of scores of memorable sayings from the writings of this last and best of the Bourbons, and gives us a glimpse of the kingly exile walking pensive in his garden at Hartwell and uttering laments upon the wife that he had lost. 'It is something,' says the king, referring to the springtime, 'to obtain a smile, even from inanimate things,' and adds:—

'You know how much I love the lovely season, what pleasures the first fine days bring to me, the first leaves, the first flowers! But there is the drop of absinthe still in all these joys. When I breathe this salutary air I say to myself, "It would have done her so much good!" At this very moment, I have here, beneath my eyes, a white camelia which has never been so beautiful as it is this year; I remember that I bought it for her birthday on our arrival here. I walk in the garden; I see my rose-trees in bloom; to whom shall I now give the roses! . . . Still, this bitterness is not without some sweets: every time I experience these tender regrets I feel that I am rendering her the purest homage; for I feel it in my heart; and if, as I hope, she has received the prize of her sufferings, must she not now enjoy the attachment and affection of her friend?' T. ALEXANDER SEED.

THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE

I

ON July 13 ten years will have elapsed since the present agreement between Great Britain and Japan relating to Eastern Asia and India was signed at London by Sir Edward (now the Viscount) Grey and Baron Takashi Kato. That agreement renewed, in substance, the treaty made in 1905, which was largely based upon the instrument negotiated in 1902. It was to remain in force for ten years from the date of its execution unless either of the high contracting parties were engaged in war, in which case it was to continue *ipso facto* until the conclusion of peace. It was further provided that in case neither of the contracting parties should have notified twelve months before the expiration of the agreement the intention of terminating it, it shall remain binding until the expiration of one year from the date on which either Great Britain or Japan shall have denounced it.

During the years that have elapsed since the agreement was signed there has been a good deal of agitation in Japan against its renewal. Such agitation was particularly active because the Japanese looked with suspicion upon British commercial activities in China, and more especially the proposed flotation of a loan to that country by the Six-Power group.

In opening the Diet on December 26, 1913, the Emperor of Japan pointedly referred to the Alliance in his speech from the throne, declaring that it was continually growing firmer. In view of the special reverence in which the Crown is held in Japan, that pronouncement had a powerful effect upon Japanese opinion.

A section of the Japanese, however, had, from the very beginning, been opposed to an alliance with Britain, and

if they could have had their way in 1902, when the original agreement was concluded between Lord Lansdowne, then British Foreign Secretary, and Count Tadasu Hayashi, the Japanese Minister Plenipotentiary at the court of St. James, Japan might have formed an alliance with Germany and possibly with Russia. At the outbreak of the hostilities in Europe, and even during the war, this section frequently took the opportunity to agitate against the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and urged the Government and the people not to renew it. The arguments used were that the British interests in the Far East clashed with Japanese interests, and that Britain was jealous of the industrial progress made by the Japanese, and the extension of her trade in China and India, and secretly did everything she could to block Japan's ambitions; and that in any case the Alliance was no longer of particular advantage to Japan, and, therefore, should be allowed to lapse so that she might have full freedom to act in any manner that might best ensure her purposes. In view of the Japanese difficulties with the United States of America, the opponents of the Alliance in Japan called the attention of their people to the growing friendship between the British and the Americans, thereby seeking to mobilize popular passions to secure their object.

Though this agitation has been skilfully conducted, and at times has been quite fierce, yet it has always left the responsible Japanese cold. Not a single front-rank statesman, nor any well-known financier or industrialist, has ever chosen to lend the movement the weight of his name, much less actively support it. The Japanese are an extremely shrewd and cautious people, and nothing else could possibly be expected from them.

All intelligent Japanese know that when the first agreement was signed, almost two decades ago, the Japanese had yet to establish their claim to be recognized as a Great Power, and that Alliance increased their prestige all over the world and proved of great advantage during their death-

struggle with the Russians, which ensued about two years after it was concluded. They also know that without that Alliance they would have found it difficult to swallow Korea. It was explicitly stated in Article I of the original agreement that the 'special interests of Great Britain relate principally to China, while Japan, in addition to the interests which she possesses in China, is interested in a peculiar degree politically, as well as commercially and industrially, in Korea,' and that Japan and Great Britain were allying themselves 'to safeguard those interests if threatened either by the aggressive action of any other Power, or by disturbances arising in China and Korea.' In view of this explicit declaration, any Power which, from idealistic or ulterior motives, may have felt disposed to intervene in behalf of the Koreans, would have had to reckon not only with Japan, but also with her Western ally.

During the war Britain had to lean heavily upon Japan, and that, no doubt, stimulated Japanese pride. There has, moreover, been a great accession of wealth through Japan's ability energetically to exploit the opportunity afforded by the conflict to supply the world, especially the Eastern markets, with goods for which they theretofore had depended upon European nations. That this enhanced political prestige and money-power should make some Japanese feel that they are now able to stand by themselves no matter how much they may, at one time, have needed Britain's support, can be no matter for surprise.

The more responsible element in Japan is, however, much too shrewd to fall into this way of thinking. The Japanese industrial and commercial windfall during the war has been followed by a wave of depression. Even if a slump had not occurred, the far-sighted amongst the Japanese knew that the gains made by them during an abnormal period of the world's history would have to be consolidated, otherwise they would be lost, as soon as the European nations were able to divert their energies from the channels

of destruction into those of production. They were much too conscious of the weaknesses and deficiencies in their polity, and of the jealousies and hatreds that the rapid rise of their country had aroused, to take seriously the talk about standing alone in which some of their countrymen indulged. For all these reasons, the agitation in Japan against the renewal of the Alliance has utterly failed, and the Japanese Government of the day is as eager for the maintenance of the Alliance as was its predecessor which originally negotiated it.

The Japanese agitation has its counterpart in this country. The British are, however, so absorbed in their domestic problems that only those who closely watch developments in the Orient have any idea that it exists. Such agitation is directly or indirectly inspired by the British commercial community in the Far East, which is extremely dissatisfied with the treatment it receives in areas under Japanese control, and is, therefore, generally hostile to the Japanese.

Then there is opposition to the renewal of the Alliance from persons vitally interested in the movement to promote brotherhood among the nations of the world, and to end the era of sanguinary struggles. They fear that so long as alliances between one nation and another continue, it will be futile to expect that the League of Nations would become strong enough to move the imagination of the world. Instead of making one nation look to another for support, they would have every nation look to the League for protection.

So determined, however, are the Governments of both Britain and Japan to renew the agreement that these considerations have been brushed aside. If they feel that at present the League of Nations is much too young to afford protection, they have not said so. Possibly they realize that such a statement would invite the retort that for nations within the League to form pacts with one another is the best way to keep it in an adolescent stage.

It is stated, however, that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, as redrafted, does not offend against the Covenant of the League of Nations in any manner or to any degree. That claim cannot be investigated until the text of the draft treaty is issued. All that is possible in that circumstance is to make a survey of conditions in the Orient to determine how the agreement needs to be amended to suit the present situation, if it is to be renewed.

II

Since March 13, 1911, when the agreement was signed in duplicate in London, much water has flowed under London Bridge. Germany, which, at that time, seemed bent upon acquiring an Empire in the Far East, and which was rapidly expanding her trade there, lies humbled in the dust. Russia, which then was slowly creeping farther and farther down in Asia, lies in a state of collapse. Japan, on the other hand, is in occupation of the nucleus of the Far-Eastern Empire that Germany had established, and also of a large slice of Russian Asia, while Korea has become Cho-sen, but is profoundly discontented with Japanese administration.

Great though Japan's services were to the common cause during the war, yet she does not have to recover from losses in man-power, finance, and shipping like those suffered by her European allies. Indeed, she has, as already remarked, emerged from the war with enhanced prestige and money-power, and a new commercial and industrial organization.

The situation in China is not what it was in 1911, when the present instrument was negotiated. Within a few months of its conclusion a revolution broke out in Hankow, which finally resulted in the overthrow of the Manchus and the establishment of a republic. All attempts to secure the reversion to monarchy, even the one inspired

by such a strong personality as Yuan Shih Kai, have failed.

Internecine warfare has, however, made it impossible for China to ensure that stability of conditions without which there cannot be rapid, well-ordered progress. 'The South' and 'the North' have been in conflict. I put those geographic terms in quotation marks, for they are not exact—and are even, in a sense, misnomers. The conflict is a conflict of ideas and institutions—and those ideas and institutions are not divided by geographic lines. Personal ambition, of course, lurks in the background, but the real cause of quarrel between the opposing forces in China is the relation which the executive is to bear to Parliament—whether the executive is to be the servant of Parliament, as is the case in this country, or whether it is to have the powers and privileges enjoyed under one or another of the parliamentary systems in vogue in Europe and America. The Chinese who are not in power are fighting to impose the British system upon their people, while those now ruling the country resist it, for patent reasons. From the latest information to hand there is reason to suppose that the two factions are much nearer a compromise than is believed to be the case.

In the meantime, the internecine warfare has given Japan the opportunity to secure China's adhesion to agreements and understandings which give her additional rights and privileges in Manchuria and Mongolia, and which, if pushed to the extreme to make China her vassal would undoubtedly precipitate a great, gruesome struggle. The feeling that the Japanese have taken advantage of them has given rise to a boycott of Japanese goods in China which has shown remarkable vitality.

Had Japan showed an attitude of magnanimity in regard to the retrocession of the Chinese territories wrenched by her from Germany, she would have succeeded in winning Chinese affection. That unfortunately did not prove the

case, though both China and Japan fought on the same side during the war, and though they are of the same race, and their culture has much in common.

In India the changes have been entirely of an evolutionary character, but none the less they have been great. Before the war, India was regarded as a helpless dependant which, in case of a European conflict, might cause serious complications for Britain. During the struggle she sent more forces to the various theatres of war than all the other overseas units of the Empire combined. In consequence of such action she could no longer be excluded from the Imperial Conference, to which she was admitted by the unanimous vote of the very Dominions which had kept her out, ostensibly because she was not self-governing. Later she was admitted into the Peace Conference, and later still into the League of Nations as an original member.

As a matter of fact, the representation accorded to India at the Empire and international conferences can never be exactly the same as that enjoyed by the Dominions until she is fully self-governing, how much soever in phraseology it may be made equal. So long as the Government of India remains in any manner or to any degree uncontrolled by the legislature, so long its nominees can never have the moral authority which the spokesmen for the Dominions, elected by the people, possess.

His Majesty's Government has, however, definitely acknowledged that the goal of British policy in India is the progressive realization of self-government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. The first instalment of reforms, no matter how inadequate, has already been sanctioned by Parliament. When these words are in print the Duke of Connaught, on behalf of the King-Emperor, will have opened the legislatures created by the new Government of India Act, and it is to be hoped that he will have made a pronouncement which will have

effectually removed the grievances which are making for 'non-co-operation'—the Indian form of Sinn Fein.

III

One of the questions which has to be decided is : 'Can Britain afford to continue its policy of pitchforking India¹ into the Anglo-Japanese Alliance ?'

It is asserted that that was done, in the first instance, in order to prevent Japan from deriving all the advantages from the Alliance without bearing any burdens. In other words, India was used as 'make-weight.'

No stretch of the imagination is needed for any one to realize how cruelly the pitchforking of India into the Anglo-Japanese Alliance hurt Indian susceptibilities. India possesses, in superabundance, all the resources she needs for protection : and her sense of self-respect will not permit her to be dependent upon Japan for protection. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman neatly summed up the situation when he stated :

'I am enough of an Imperialist, if this be Imperialism, to hold that the maintenance of the integrity of India is our affair and no one else's ; and if further measures of defence are necessary—of which I have no assurance—the appeal should be to the loyalty of the people of India, and to our own capacity for organizing their defences. Is there not danger that the pride of the Indian people may be wounded, and the prestige of the Empire abased in the eyes of the world, by the provision by which Japan makes herself conjointly responsible for the defence of the Indian frontier ?'

It would have been an act of the highest statesmanship to permit no reference to India in the agreement revised after this withering criticism had been made. In view of the part India played during the war and of the changes her status in the Empire and the world has undergone, it would be exceedingly unwise to continue thus to give India umbrage.

¹ The Preamble of the existing instrument reads in part as follows :

'(c) The maintenance of the High Contracting Parties in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India, and the defence of their special interests in the said regions.'

Turning to the extreme East, the terms of the new agreement should be such as to make the repetition of what happened to Korea impossible. Not a phrase should be permitted to find a place in it which would make China suspicious or unfriendly. That would merely drive the Chinese into the arms of the Americans, who are seeking to extend their trade, and in whose favour the Chinese, so many of whom have been educated at American universities, are already predisposed.

To sum up: The Anglo-Japanese Alliance must be what it professes to be—an instrument for the maintenance of peace in the Extreme East, and no loopholes should be left for purposes of aggression.

ST. NIHAL SINGH.

Notes and Discussions

THE RESPONSE TO THE LAMBETH PROPOSALS

THE assembly of bishops in Lambeth last July—the sixth of the kind since its inception in 1808—was in itself notable and important. But by general consent its outstanding feature was the attitude taken up in relation to the ‘Reunion of Christendom,’ and the proposals made in reference to it. The Report of the Lambeth Conference contains four sections bearing on this subject: (1) the conclusions reached by a strong sub-committee which form the basis of the whole; (2) an encyclical letter; (3) the text of an ‘Appeal to all Christian people’; (4) Resolutions and recommendations to the authorities of Churches of the Anglican Communion. These various sections agree in their main tenor and contain some matter in common, but significant differences in detail and in phraseology are discernible on a careful examination.

Naturally, it is the Appeal that has aroused most attention. Both in form and in substance it strikes a new note, lifts discussion to a new plane, and it may—though of this at present there is less prospect—make and mark a new era. More than one bishop has testified to a strange and sacred sense of divine leadership experienced by the whole assembly, and there are traces even on the printed pages that the members felt the unseen presence of a ‘compelling influence,’ a divine spirit of unity, a ‘great wind blowing over the whole earth.’

The signs of the new spirit animating this Appeal have been widely noted and welcomed. The acknowledgement of all baptized believers in Christ as ‘sharing in the membership of the universal Church’; the divine call to fellowship and the earnest desire that it should be heard and obeyed; the feeling of penitence for broken fellowship in the past and the frank confession of ‘our share in the guilt of thus crippling the Body of Christ’; the free and full acknowledgement of ‘the spiritual reality of the ministries’ in non-episcopal Churches, ‘blessed and owned by the Holy Spirit as effective means of grace,’ prepare the way for an appeal which must surely find a response in every Christian heart—‘We do not ask that any one Communion should consent to be absorbed in another. We do ask that all should unite in a new and great endeavour to recover and to manifest to the world the unity of the Body of Christ for which He prayed.’ The tone and spirit of this appeal are so admirable that we hope it will awaken an adequate response. That is to say, that non-episcopal Churches should express their cordial appreciation of the Christian spirit manifested, their own earnest

desire to secure the great ends set forth, and their readiness to join heartily and generously in an inquiry as to how far the proposals towards reunion, as sketched out in this Report, are acceptable and practicable.

Up to a certain point little difficulty will be felt. Evangelical Free Churches, no less than Anglicans, recognize Holy Scripture as 'the rule and ultimate standard of faith'; they believe generally in the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds as 'important statements of the Christian faith,' though all might not be prepared to subscribe to their *ipsissima verba*; they believe in the two sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion as expressing the corporate life of fellowship in Christ; and they desire, if it could be secured, a ministry which should be 'acknowledged by every part of the Church.' Free Churchmen will recognize further that the bishops signing this report do not dogmatically lay down episcopacy as a condition necessary for the very existence of a Christian Church. They rather plead, 'May we not reasonably claim that the episcopate is the one means of providing such a ministry?' They do not question the spiritual effectiveness of non-episcopal ministries, nor do they expect the ministers of such Churches to repudiate their past and dishonour the Holy Spirit who has called them to their work in Christ's Church and enabled them to fulfil it. They say 'all ministries of grace, theirs and ours,' are needed and should be made available for the service of Christ in a united Church.

But closer examination of the Report reveals features which, if not actually inconsistent with the position above described, are not easily harmonized with it. It would almost appear as if different influences had been at work in different parts of the document. The parts are clear, the whole is ambiguous. What one hand gives, the other takes away. If the acceptance of episcopacy is necessary to secure a ministry acknowledged by the whole Church what does such acceptance imply? It is here that difficulties and objections have arisen and the Report speaks with more than one voice. For argument's sake we may neglect the question of State establishment, though in practice it is in this country anything but negligible. Nor need we ask how a 'representative and constitutional' episcopate is to be secured, such as the framers of the Appeal desiderate, but of course cannot promise. These questions do not touch the main difficulties which circle round three closely-related points. (1) What is meant by, or implied in, the reordination required if ministers of non-episcopal Churches are to be accepted by the whole Church? (2) What is meant by episcopacy under the new conditions? Is it regarded as, like Presbyterianism, a form of Church government which has on the whole worked well, and may be made to work better? Or is it, as handed down in 'the historic Church,' the sole channel of divine grace, without which there is no valid ministry, or at best one that is 'irregular,' only to be tolerated by a stretch of charity? (3) If a favourable response is given to the Appeal, and ministers, more or

fewer, accept episcopal ordination, what will be the relation of the Church they have joined to such as yet remain without episcopal government? Is the old, sadly-familiar exclusiveness to be maintained, or is it to be abandoned in the truly Christian spirit manifested in many parts of the Appeal?

That these are not mere captious questions is manifest by the reception which the Lambeth proposals have received in many quarters. The Presbyterians, as represented by such leading spokesmen as Drs. Norman Maclean, Archibald Fleming, and Anderson Scott, are disposed altogether to reject the overtures, as virtually implying reunion by absorption. The Federal Council of Evangelical Free Churches, while welcoming the spirit of the Appeal, considers that 'there are fundamental provisions in these proposals which do not command their assent,' and have appointed a strong committee to examine the whole document carefully and report. The Congregational Union, which met in Southampton last October, was strongly opposed to the reordination of non-episcopal ministers under any conditions.

It is not for us to say whether the objections thus strongly urged are warranted, in whole or in part. But careful study of the 'Resolutions' on pp. 30, 31, and elsewhere shows that no interchange of pulpits between Episcopalians and non-Episcopalians is to be permitted or encouraged, except 'occasionally' and provided those allowed to officiate on either side 'are working towards an ideal of union' in which episcopacy is to be accepted by all. No intercommunion is to be permitted. The 'irregularity' of admitting baptized but unconfirmed communicants to the Lord's Table in Anglican churches cannot be countenanced, except in a few cases during 'the few years between the initiation and completion of a definite scheme of union.' Those who have already been hailed (p. 26) as 'sharing in the membership in the universal Church of Christ which is His Body' are excluded from Anglican communion, and Anglican communicants are to receive Holy Communion only from ministers of their own Church. Is this, then, the noble ideal for which Christians far outnumbering the comparatively restricted Anglican Communion are to be 'prepared to make sacrifices'? Is it only thus that they may hope to share in the 'grace which is pledged in the Apostolic rite of laying-on of hands'? Is it to be understood that this is the goal which all Christians should strain every effort to secure—that of 'one outward visible society,' holding one faith and 'having its own recognized officers,' refusing communion at the table of the Lord to those who have not accepted these officers as the sole divinely appointed administrators of grace and salvation?

It may be said that these considerations are irrelevant, and that they should not be dragged in to mar the grace and beauty of the Bishops' appeal. The reply is that the Report itself suggests them, and that the issues raised lie not only at the heart of every discussion of the relations between episcopal and non-episcopal Churches, but at the very heart of true religion. In the course of history, 'bishop'

has meant so many things. As a form of Church government episcopacy may be dispassionately considered, and its considerable merits admitted by those who have not accepted it. The Methodist Episcopal Church (North and South) in America is one of the largest Protestant denominations in the world. Sturdy Congregationalists and Baptists are finding the advantage of 'Moderators,' or ministers (not prelates) whose main duty is to superintend or 'episcopize.' In the New Testament Churches presbyters were bishops and bishops were presbyters. The Lambeth Conference desires to institute a ministry 'possessing not only the inward call of the Spirit, but also the commission of Christ and the authority of the whole body.' Let it be distinctly and emphatically said that ministers not episcopally ordained possess as much as any others the 'commission of Christ.' The distinction between different kinds of Church officers and the restricting of grace to one particular type and order was not instituted by our Lord and Saviour. Ministers not episcopally ordained do not possess 'the authority of the whole body' and the same is true of the bishops of the Anglican Communion, who do not acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope and are not recognized by the Orthodox Church of the East. Ministers and members of Free Churches who are invited to 'accept episcopacy' for the sake of securing 'one outward visible and united society' are reminded by many passages in this Report that uniformity of Church government may be all too dearly purchased at the price of the spiritual freedom with which Christ has made them free.

We do not say for a moment that the bishops assembled in Lambeth demand the surrender of true Christian liberty. We are only urging that their manifesto in its several parts is not as clear as might be desired and that apparent inconsistencies need to be freely and frankly discussed in united conference. Reordination is in the Report sometimes styled 'extended commission,' and we read of 'mutual authorization,' 'mutual deference and goodwill.' The desire to remove stumbling-blocks is in some parts of the Appeal splendidly manifest, but in other parts of the Report these are statedly set up in their places again. Explanation is clearly necessary that the doubts which harass many minds may be cleared up. It is true that many 'conferences' have been held already, but none of them has had before it an authoritative document signed by 250 bishops of the Anglican Communion in all parts of the world. We believe that the desirability of such clearer understanding has already been felt on both sides, and before this Note appears preliminary steps in this direction may already have been taken. A great opportunity is provided by the publication of this message, and if it is lost it cannot soon recur. If it is to be rightly used the first step is for representatives of the Free Churches in this country to meet some bishops who were present at Lambeth and other representatives of the Church of England, not for the sake of discussing 'Reunion' or its merits, but for full and frank conversation on the terms of the Appeal and its proposals, that no misappre-

hensions on either side may remain. Such a meeting, whatever its issues, would be valuable in itself, and it would form an excellent preparation for the forthcoming World Conference of Faith and Order.

W. T. DAVISON.

ISSUES INVOLVED IN THE U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

EVEN the most casual observer of American affairs cannot have been surprised by the result of the U.S. Presidential election—the easy and decisive victory of the Republican candidate and the complete rout of the Democratic forces. That does not, however, lessen the tragedy of the situation. At the White House at Washington sits the most pathetic figure of our time: the man who, but two years ago, touched the world's imagination as no other person had ever done—the man whose leadership was confirmed, only four years ago, by American democracy.

President Wilson's defeat matters to the world, because it is not merely the defeat of an individual but of an ideal—not the breaking up of a personality, but the eclipse of a philosophy—because it is the defeat of Wilsonism. It matters because it has given a fillip to the forces of reaction not in America alone but all over the world. It has exposed idealism to the jeers and sneers of reactionaries, of every race and clime. It has made a by-word of 'self-determination' and given a set-back to the unitive forces of the world.

And the tragedy of it all lies in the fact that the worst foe of Wilsonism has been Dr. Wilson himself. He, more than anyone else in or outside of America—indeed, more than all the others put together—has been the author of his own ruin. President Wilson went into the Conference of victors with the resolve to come out of it with the parchment in his hand that would be the Magna Charta of human-kind—of a new human-kind. As a matter of fact he came out of that Conference a man who had tragically failed in achieving that purpose, and, what was still more tragic, a man who had so lost his bearings in the maze of European diplomacy that he was unaware that he was utterly lost. Whereas the merest tyro could see that the peace he had made was in conflict with 'the Fourteen Points,' on the strength of which the enemy had laid down his arms, he went on affirming that that was the peace that he had all the time intended to bring about. Even when fire-eaters acknowledged that some of the terms were unduly hard, and difficult, if not impossible of execution, the man had not the far-sight nor the magnanimity to confess his error.

In making that blunder, President Wilson upset his own people—upset them by playing the autocrat. He came to Europe unaccompanied by a single American of any prominence who did not belong to his own Party, and thereby gave umbrage to the Republicans, who later set up an opposition in the United States Senate which undid his work so far as his own country was concerned.

And the men he brought were frankly subordinates rather than colleagues. That was by no means an isolated incident of 'dictatorship' during his administration. On the contrary, it was but an incident in the policy which he had steadfastly pursued ever since coming into power. He had shown so strong a determination to be his own Prime Minister and his own Foreign Minister that more than one member of his Cabinet had resigned, and on more than one occasion Congress revolted against him.

Dr. Wilson's idealism, his conscientiousness, his strong, distinctly dogmatic personality, and his pedagogic experience—in other words, the faults of his qualities—rather than megalomania or insensate love of power—made it impossible for him to resist the temptation to which every president is subjected by the American Constitution. The authors of that Constitution, striving to provide against autocracy by designing a balance of power between the legislature, executive, and judiciary, unconsciously erred in giving the chief magistrate powers which, if he chooses to exercise them, would make him an autocrat. Presidents, other than Dr. Wilson, have succumbed to the same temptation—and not so very long ago; but they were fortunate in the times during which they held their tenure of that great office. Dr. Wilson's misfortune has been that he has occupied the White House during a period when the public conscience was extremely sensitive, and when the world's gaze was turned towards the American Capitol.

The two issues which have dominated the American elections have, therefore, been '100 per cent. Americanism' or 'no entangling alliances,' and 'no autocracy.' The Republicans have come into power professedly to carry out these policies, and it, therefore, behoves persons interested in current affairs and especially those desirous of promoting human concord and brotherhood, to make an earnest attempt to visualize the situation resulting from Senator Harding's success at the polls.

Let us examine the first issue, namely, '100 per cent. Americanism' or 'no entangling alliances.' These are highly ambiguous phrases, and can be stretched to cover almost any policy or programme. Whatever use is made of the first of these battle-cries, namely, '100 per cent. Americanism,' it is quite certain that it will be employed to promote a new and exclusive immigration policy. During the war, both before and after the United States entered into the European conflict, the authorities and patriotic people alike were greatly provoked by the sinister, underground activities of persons within the American borders whose allegiance was divided between America and Germany, or between America and Austria, and whom the Americans, with that aptness of phrase which is one of their outstanding characteristics, called the 'hyphenates.' The resentment then caused was so deep that it bids fair to develop a stronger, more positive, possibly a little noisier type of patriotism, which will refuse to permit the introduction of elements into the States which cannot be readily assimilated.

For years past, Americans have more and more realized the danger of permitting their land to be a dumping-ground for the undesirables of Europe and Asia. The edge of that consciousness has been blunted by that kindly impulse which, all these decades, has prompted Americans to refuse to debar outsiders from 'the land of opportunity,' or 'God's own country,' as they so often designate the United States. The reptilian attitude and actions of the 'hyphenates' during the war, and the gradual diffusion of the prejudices against Asiatic immigrants entertained by people in the Western States have, however, strengthened the determination to embark upon a new policy of restriction of immigration—a policy which the forthcoming *régime* at the White House may be expected to usher in soon after its inauguration.

The same spirit which would keep America from becoming the dumping-ground of the undesirables of Europe and Asia is also seeking to keep that land from becoming entangled in the intricately woven meshes of European diplomacy, which, as it is at present constituted, dominates the League of Nations. Dr. Wilson's failure to secure a peace treaty in strict conformity with his Fourteen Points has naturally made the American people shy of European diplomats who knew how to yield to the American President in principle and yet take away in detail the concessions they made to his idealism. Americans are extremely suspicious of the Covenant of the League of Nations—more especially of Article X, which they fear would reduce the American army and navy to a tool of European diplomacy to further the imperialistic designs of the European powers. A League in which the United States would have but one vote against six of Great Britain and her Dominions (among which India is included so far as this purpose is concerned), raises American doubts and jealousies. As the recent elections showed, Dr. Wilson egregiously erred in thinking, and more especially in leading the European statesmen to think, that such a League would be acceptable to his people. Senator Harding did not hesitate to speak of the Covenant as dead and buried, so far as the United States was concerned. The overwhelming majority with which he is being sent to the White House shows that in this matter he reflects the American attitude accurately.

That does not mean, however, that the United States of America is averse from any association of nations, or that it is anxious to run away from any responsibilities that may devolve upon it as a member of the human family. It merely means that the League which has been created under the leadership of one of America's sons is not an organization which appeals to the American imagination or suits the American temperament, or furnishes America with the right opportunity for self-expression. Senator Harding has almost said as much. Even if the United States were desirous of leading an isolated life, completely cut off from the rest of the world, she could not do so at a time when Europe is heavily in her debt, when Europe could not exist without American food and raw materials, and when

developments in communication are shrinking the world and mighty forces are at work welding the nations into a closer economic, intellectual, and moral association. Some of the men whom Senator Harding will have to call to his aid if he is to live up to his slogan of 'no autocracy' realize most clearly the advisability and imperative necessity for their people honourably to bear their share of the world-responsibility. Ex-President Taft, Mr. Herbert Hoover, and Mr. Charles Eliot, of Harvard University, are staunch believers in America playing her part in the unitive movement of the world. It may yet happen, therefore, that Wilsonism may survive the defeat of its author, and America may join an association of nations which may possibly be the present League duly modified to enable her to secure adequate opportunity for self-expression.

CATHLEYNE SINGH.

PROFESSOR SANDAY

THE passing of Dr. Sanday leaves a great gap in the front line of our teachers. To the middle-aged amongst us his name has been a household word ever since we began our student's course. There are many who will recall the coming of Sanday and Headlam's *Commentary on Romans*, in the autumn of 1895. Even to those who knew the work of Lightfoot and of Westcott, this book was a revelation. The arresting interest of the Introduction, the suggestiveness of the paraphrases with which each section of the Commentary began, the wealth of knowledge revealed in the detached Notes, as well as the mastery of all critical and textual questions, combined to make the reading of that book an epoch in the life of many Bible students, especially those to whom it came in their youth. Now, as one turns over the records of the great scholar's life, it is hard to realize that his first book—*The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*—had been published twenty-three years before, in 1872, when its author was only twenty-eight years old, but showing even then a depth of scholarship and breadth of reading that pointed to the coming of a new force in the world of biblical knowledge. Since then a great mass of published work, too great to be even mentioned in this brief notice, has revealed untiring industry and a keen and vivid interest in all the living questions of the passing years. In his latest published work—the little volume called *Divine Overruling*—Dr. Sanday calls himself 'a slow worker,' and says, 'I have not—I know that I have not—a capacious brain.' The characteristic modesty of such an utterance speaks for itself, and is one of the marks of greatness. It recalls the words of another great teacher, Dr. Hort, words with which Dr. Sanday would have most cordially agreed: 'To have become disabled for unlearning is to have become disabled for learning; and when we cease to learn, we let go from us whatever of vivid and vivifying knowledge we have hitherto

possessed. At all events it is only as a learner to learners that on these high matters I can desire to speak.'

The phrase 'as a learner to learners' is an admirable characterisation of the tone of all of Dr. Sanday's work. Those who never had the privilege of being his students have read with envy of his weekly *Seminar* at Oxford, where with a group of younger scholars he explored the Synoptic Problem. His series of works on the Life of our Lord afford another illustration. The first sketch appeared in the first volume of *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*. Then, after *The Sacred Sites of the Gospels* (1908) and *The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel* (1906) followed the volume on *The Life of Christ in Recent Research* (1908). Here the most important section revealed the influence upon the author's mind of writers of the apocalyptic school and in particular of the work of Schweitzer. Then in 1910 came the book entitled *Christologies, Ancient and Modern*, with its sequel *Personality in Christ and in Ourselves*. Here was made manifest the influence of the newer psychology, and the fascination of the idea of the subconscious self. The author hoped that this might be the last of his subsidiary studies before he gave himself to the book on *The Life of Christ*, which was to crown his life's work. But it was not to be. The restatement of the problem of the miraculous, and the modern attempt to advocate a Christianity that may be called 'supernatural but not miraculous,' engaged his thought, and his closing professional lecture at Oxford announced the changing of his earlier published views on miracles, and his acceptance of the new position.

It is here that many of those who have honoured and revered him most find themselves unable to follow him. They cannot help thinking that his last spoken words would not long have contented their author. Two influences moved him in this direction—both excellent, but, as it appears to many of us, neither satisfying. The first was the chivalrous desire to protect the liberty of prophesying and to guard some of the younger scholars of the day from ecclesiastical censure. The second was the eager wish to commend religion to the modern scientific thinker, and to remove the barriers which hindered his entrance into the Kingdom. Dr. Sanday's own faith was robust and full. We remember gratefully how he wrote to the Bishop of Oxford of a faith that 'guarantees the central truth—the true Godhead of Father, Son, and the Holy Ghost—that our Lord Jesus Christ is truly God and truly Lord, very God and at the same time very Man.' With such a faith he was prepared to go to almost any length to win others to rejoice in the same experience which he had found. But we are convinced that the future lies not with a 'reduced' Christianity but with a full one, not in defence but in attack, and the claiming of the full lordship of Christ in all realms, as Lord over nature, over death, and over the spirit.

One other interest of Dr. Sanday's must not be passed over in silence—his eager longing for the bringing together of all Christians in a closer union. In the noble preface to his Bampton Lectures on

Inspiration, he dedicates his work 'to the greater English Church, that is to all who, sprung from the English race, under whatever name, worship and adore Christ from the heart; to the greater English Church whose leader and, as it were, standard-bearer I could wish that lesser Church to be, whose orders I myself bear and whose dutiful son I am.' That greater English Church, he goes on to say, he has followed forth with hope and with anxiety, but with a hope greater than the anxiety, praying that it may with courage and with cheerfulness gird itself to receive the new gifts of knowledge and to meet the new conditions. It is a happy omen that the latest Bampton Lectures, delivered by his former fellow-worker, the present Regius Professor at Oxford, Dr. Headlam, breathe the same spirit, and sound, as it seems to us, the most hopeful note in all our present controversies. Dr. Sanday's own lectures on *The Primitive Church and Reunion* are valuable. They contain a broad review of the literature on the subject up to date; one of those generous appreciations of the work of others which the author always delighted to give, in this case of Mr. C. H. Turner; and an earnest appeal to the historical scholars of all Communions to face together the problems presented by the early history and literature of the Christian Church. We miss sorely Dr. Sanday's pronouncements on the latest Report of this year's Lambeth Conference. Whatever his judgement may have been of the practical proposals, his heart would have rejoiced at the tone and the spirit of the appeal of the Bishops.

In many respects Dr. Sanday's figure is unique in the records of British scholarship. With all his depth of learning he kept to the last a spirit almost like that of an eager boy. Was there ever before an Oxford Professor who began his last official lecture, at the age of seventy-six, by announcing to his hearers an important change of opinion 'only four days old'? The candour with which he disclosed all that was passing through his mind as successive new ideas were presented to him, led to Mr. R. A. Knox's clever comment—'We have to be reassured by a yearly statement from Dr. Sanday, comparable to the weather report, as to "what we may still believe."' Yet this very openness was a large part of his charm, and was more than balanced by the gravity and reverence with which he approached the questions which he felt to be vital to personal religion. We think of him as a true English gentleman, courteous, chivalrous, pure, never by unworthy word or taunt, even in the heat of controversy, bringing discredit to the Lord whose minister he was, and surely winning the beatitude pronounced by his Lord upon the peacemakers. 'He walked with God, and he was not, for God took him.'

WILFRID J. MOULTON.

THE WITNESS OF THE SPIRIT

THIS Doctrine, involving a personal and rational assurance of Salvation and of the Favour of God, is a marked feature of the theological teaching which evoked the Methodist Revival. But,

by a strange oversight, it has now only a small place in the modern pulpit. Yet we need it now as much as ever. This need prompts me to write the following paper.

We turn at once to Rom. viii. 15, 16, where the above doctrine is plainly asserted: 'Ye have received a Spirit of Adoption, in which we cry, Abba, Father. The Spirit Itself bears witness with our spirit that we are children of God.' So Gal. iv. 5, 6: 'God sent forth His Son . . . that we may receive the Adoption. And because ye are sons, God sent forth the Spirit of His Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father.' These last words were written probably shortly before those quoted above. The prominence given in Rom. viii. 2-27 to the *Spirit* contrasts with chs. i.-vii., where He is mentioned only in ch. v. 5, and less definitely in chs. ii. 29, vii. 6, also i. 4.

Another new thought is suggested, in the two passages quoted above, by the phrase *sons* or *children* of God; and by the cognate word *adoption*, literally *son-making*, there and in Eph. i. 5. This last word denotes a Roman legal custom by which one man took another's son to be, in nearly all respects, his own son. Some Roman emperors gained the throne as the adopted sons of their predecessors. These three passages imply that God will receive and treat, as His sons and as partners in the inheritance of the First-born Son, men who by their sins had lost all claim to this sonship.

This great doctrine is asserted in Jno. i. 12: 'To as many as received Him, He gave authority to become children of God.' But here the new relation is traced, not to a legal process as in the letters of Paul, but to a new birth 'from God'; and as in ch. iii. 5, 6, 8, 'from the Spirit.' The same relation to God is asserted by Christ in Mt. v. 9, 45, where we have the phrase, 'become sons of your Father in Heaven.' cp. Lk. xx. 36. In all these passages we have, not a universal sonship based on man's creation by God in His own image, but a discriminating sonship, conditioned by each one's attitude towards God.

This discrimination is clearly asserted in Rom. viii. 14: 'So many as are led by the Spirit of God, these are sons of God.' These words assume that Paul's readers do not resist (Acts vii. 51) the guiding influence of the Holy Spirit. This assertion of sonship he justifies in Rom. viii. 15 by saying that his readers and himself have received a Spirit of Adoption who moves them to cry 'Abba, Father.' (The word *Abba* is an Aramaic equivalent for the Greek word rendered *Father*.) This argument Paul confirms by adding that 'the Spirit Itself (or Himself) bears witness, along with our spirit, that we are children of God; and if children also heirs.'

On this use of the word *bears-witness*, light is shed in Jno. v. 36: 'The works which I do themselves *bear witness* that the Father sent Me.' So ch. x. 25, 38, Acts xiv. 17, xv. 8, Heb. x. 15, xi. 4. It is a not uncommon Greek way of describing anything which affords proof: so Aristotle *Nik. Ethics* ii. 1. 5: 'That which takes

place in the cities bears witness,' &c. In the case before us, the proof is found in the foregoing words, 'Spirit of Adoption, in which we cry Abba, Father.' By prompting this cry the Holy Spirit affords proof that our cry correctly describes our real relation to God.

This argument is an appeal to an inward spiritual experience; and is valid only to those who have it. But Christian literature, ancient and modern and in all Churches, bears witness that this has been the cherished experience of many of the most intelligent and devout of the disciples of Christ. As an example, I may quote from the Methodist Hymn-Book, No. 247, by Dr. Doddridge, a slightly older friend of John Wesley.

3. Come, Holy Spirit, seal the grace
On my expanding heart;
And show that in the Father's love
I share a filial part.

4. Cheered by a witness so divine,
Unwavering I believe;
And Abba, Father! humbly cry;
Nor can the sign deceive.

This human cry is from 'our spirit,' i.e. from that in us which is nearest to God and most like God. But we recognize in it a voice of One infinitely greater than ourselves, whom we cannot but identify as the Spirit of God, 'in whom, we cry Abba, Father.' We have therefore two witnesses speaking in absolute harmony, viz. (1) our own saved human nature, and (2) the Spirit of God in most intimate contact with our own spirit. The former we identify by His immediate and decisive appeal to (Rom. ii. 14, 15) 'the law written in our hearts'; i.e. to the inborn Moral Sense which enables us in all ordinary cases to distinguish good from evil, the higher from the lower. It finds permanent expression in the moral literature of all ages and races. Our Conscience recognizes its Lord and Source.

This inward experience confirms strongly, in Rom. viii. 18, the hope anticipated in ch. v. 2, 9-11. It is also a strong motive for following (ch. viii. 13, 14) the guidance of the Spirit in all we think, speak, or do. For experience teaches that, only so far as we do so, have we this joyful confidence. This hope is confirmed in vv. 19-25 by the many imperfections of the material world around us. Just so, uncouth scaffolding is a silent announcement of a better and more permanent structure, to be afterwards erected. It is further confirmed by (vv. 26, 27) yearnings breathed into us by the Spirit of God, who thus becomes both a Helper in our weakness and, like the Son (v. 34), our Intercessor with God.

That as sons of God the disciples of Christ are sharers of His great inheritance makes Him, in v. 29, 'Firstborn among many brethren.' In Eph. i. 4, this adoption is traced back to 'before the foundation of the world.' This sheds light on this last event; in the creation

of the world, our Father was building a house and school for His children yet unborn. This eternal purpose is complete proof that nothing afterwards created, natural, human, or superhuman, can hinder its realization in His faithful servants. The only explanation of the hardships of their lives is (Rom. viii. 28) that 'for those who love God, all things are working together for good.'

This certainty of infinite and endless blessing evokes the song of triumph which forms, in *vv.* 31-39, the climax of Paul's exposition of the Gospel. God is on our side. Therefore in the conflict of life, however severe, he and they are more than conquerors; for the fiercest attack cannot separate them from the love of their omnipotent Protector.

Wesley's first sermon on the Witness of the Spirit, written apparently about A.D. 1747, is unsatisfactory. It does not notice that Paul's own cry, *Abba, Father*, which he has just asserted to be prompted by the Spirit of God, is itself a twofold witness that the writer and his readers are children of God. Nor does he notice the light shed on this testimony by the word *witness*, in Acts xv. 8: 'God bare them witness, by giving them the Holy Spirit, even as to us.' He does not even mention the all-important parallel in Gal. iv. 6, 7, which throws great light on Rom. viii. 15, 16.

The second sermon gives us John Wesley's mature thought, twenty years later. In it, Gal. iv. 6, 7 is quoted or mentioned three times; and Rom. viii. 16 is viewed in its relation to the preceding verses. But that this human cry, prompted by the Spirit of God, is the double and decisive testimony of two witnesses that Paul and his readers are in very truth children of God, is not clearly stated. In these sermons, the writer has also misunderstood the Witness of our own spirit. But in sermon 12, for which the writer appropriately takes another text, this last important topic is profitably discussed.

The above defects need not surprise us. Very few men are equally effective in action and as leaders of thought. But John Wesley, the father of the Methodist Revival, has rendered immense service to English theology by calling conspicuous attention to important elements, previously overlooked, in Christ's message to men. The real embodiment of Methodist theology is the Methodist Hymn-Book, and especially Charles Wesley's hymns. Thus the active labour of one brother found a needful supplement in the other's quiet thought. This last has permanent embodiment in the most useful form possible, in the hymns which appeal to the intelligence and the heart of all who read the English language.

All this warns us that John Wesley's theological writings must be read with careful discrimination. An important note to sermon 115, which bears the date of A.D. 1789, near the close of his career, warns us that in it he fell into most serious error. Sermons 54 and 78 are nearly universally repudiated.

No task resting upon modern theologians is more important than that of correcting the errors which in all Churches have clung

to the Truth of the Gospel. All such errors weaken the truth, put weapons into the hands of opponents, and trouble in the hearts of all who most earnestly seek to know all they can about the unseen and eternal realities which underlie the material universe and man's life within it. Our only safeguard is freedom for reverent Criticism.

J. AGAR BEET.

BOËTHIUS

BOËTHIUS remains a too little known figure, albeit he is so great and interesting. With the repute of being the most accomplished man of his time, he was not philosopher only, but also poet, orator, and musician. Last of the Romans, in that he bears within himself the syncretism of the ancient culture, he is first of the Italians, in respect of the versatile talent which is early precursor of a Dante, a Da Vinci, a Michael Angelo, and a Galileo. Because he did not happen to be the founder of a School, many of the historians of philosophy pass him over lightly, or even entirely: a somewhat unilluminated procedure, in my view, and unjustified, first, because his own work embodies a real system, capable of being set out as such, and, second, because of its deep, pervasive influence on subsequent philosophy, the mediaeval schools being infiltrated with Boëthian thought.

A most scholarly, complete, and valuable account of Boëthius has been given by the Marchesa Teresa Venuti in a beautifully printed two-volumed work, entitled *Boezio*, and published at Grottaferrata, near Rome. This work is indispensable to any scholar who would make a thorough study of Boëthius, for the author has thoroughly mastered all the Italian, German, French, and English literature of the subject, and has advanced the study by her own clear, calm, independent pronouncements. The English contribution to the recent literature is surprisingly small, but the Foulis version (Glasgow, 1751), and Stewart's Essay on Boëthius (Edinburgh, 1866), are duly noted. But one would have to add *The Consolation of Philosophy*, by H. R. James, London, 1897, which is the version most in use in Britain to-day. The Marchesa has devoted the whole of her second volume to translating admirably from the Latin (which is given) into Italian *The Consolation of Philosophy*, each chapter enriched with notes.

The first volume (Lire 4), which is one of immense interest, deals with the fame and life-history of Boëthius; with all his writings; with his translators, commentators, and imitators; with his system and its sources; and with its influence on subsequent philosophy, especially that which is Italian. It must not be overlooked that Boëthian wisdom is in its fundamental character theoretic and theistic; his notion of the idea of God is a product of Aristotelian, Stoical, and Neo-Platonic systems, with Christian influences intermingled; his theorizing takes a physico-teleological turn. Besides his cosmogonic theories, Boëthius has not a little to say of evil, of

freewill, and of Divine foreknowledge. One of the more noteworthy points is that he argued from the presence of the imperfect to the necessity of the perfect. The imperfect can, in his view, only be defined as that which comes short of the perfect. It is a falling away from the perfect. God, the highest good, is the embodiment of this perfection, which we are compelled to recognize (*De Cons. Phil.* III. 10). Bonaventura, later, inverted this argument of Boëthius from the imperfect to the perfect, and held that the intellect will not apprehend the imperfect if it has not already known being without defect. But, as our author does not fail to note, Boëthius admits in this very connexion that nature at first makes things whole and perfect.

His thought derived, in varying degrees, from Plato and Aristotle ; from Cicero, Seneca, and Proclus, to name no others. These matters are treated by our author with a fullness and detail which cannot here be followed. Of particular interest, from a philosophical point of view, is the influence of Boëthius on the thought of Scotus Erigena, Anselm, and Aquinas ; between the last-named and Boëthius agreements are frequent. The influence of Boëthius on the works of Dante is manifest, and it is an inspiring force alike on the form and the substance of the writings of Petrarch. The influence naturally grows less direct and striking when we come to Vico and subsequent philosophers.

Boëthius wrote, from a standpoint purely philosophical, to show what consolatory presentations seemed to him possible from that point of view. We must not judge him, therefore, as if he were essaying the task of Christian Apologist.

JAMES LINDSAY.

* * Readers of the NOTE in our last number dealing with the Bampton Lectures on *The Doctrine of the Church and Christian Reunion* (Murray), will be glad to know that in his second edition Dr. Headlam answers the criticisms of Mr. C. H. Turner and Bishop Gore at some length, and, in our judgement, answers them conclusively. Those who are interested in the subject will be well advised to study the lecturer's well-balanced statement and defence of his position.

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on The Revelation of St. John, with Introduction, Notes, and Indices, and the Greek Text and English Translation. By R. H. Charles, D.Litt., D.D. Two Volumes. (T. & T. Clark. 40s. net.)

THIS Commentary represents a quarter of a century of labour. For the first fifteen years, and for eight preceding years, Canon Charles gave himself mainly to the study of Jewish and Christian apocalyptic as a whole, and to the contribution of individual scholars to the interpretation of the Apocalypse. After years of work he discerned that the Book of Revelation, which he had feared could offer no fresh light or discovery, presented in reality a field of research richer far than any of those to which his earlier studies had been devoted. Many problems of the book prove a hopeless enigma to any one who knows nothing of Jewish apocalyptic literature, and the Greek calls for a special study of the Greek versions of the Old Testament as well as an adequate knowledge of the Greek used by Palestinian Jewish writers, and the ordinary Greek of the author's time. No one has ever combined such qualifications for the interpretation of the book as Canon Charles. He has provided a new Greek text, an English translation, a short grammar, and a wealth of material which is almost inexhaustible. In the Introduction he discusses the authorship with much acuteness and learning. He has reached the conclusion that the writer was not John the son of Zebedee but a Palestinian Jew, 'a great spiritual genius, a man of profound insight and the widest sympathies.' Canon Charles accepts the view that John the Apostle suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Jews before the fall of Jerusalem. The evidence which he adduces for this view should be examined along with Dr. Bernard's discussion in *Studia Sacra*, where the conclusion is reached that the idea that Papias is an authority for the 'red martyrdom' of John must be dismissed. Dr. Charles thinks that the Apocalypse exhibits, except in short passages, a structural unity and a steady development of thought from the beginning to chap. xx. 3, but that from that point 'the traditional order of the text exhibits a hopeless mental conclusion, and a tissue of irreconcilable contradictions.' This he explains by the hypothesis that John died when he had completed i-xx., 3, and that the materials he left for the completion of the book were 'put together by a faithful but unintelligent disciple in the order which he thought right.' Canon Charles thinks

he was a better Greek scholar than the author, but a narrow ascetic who 'introduced into Christianity ideas that had their origin in pagan faiths of unquestionable impurity. According to the teaching of xiv., 8e-4ab, neither St. Peter nor any other married apostle, nor any woman whatever, would be allowed to 'follow the Lamb on Mount Zion.' That passage Canon Charles regards as an interpolation in which 'the editor reaches the climax of his absurdity.' All this is intensely interesting and will provoke study and discussion. The volumes are laden with suggestion, and will hold a foremost place in the literature which surrounds the Apocalypse.

The Bible Doctrine of Society in its Historical Evolution.

By Charles Ryder Smith, B.A., D.D. (T. & T. Clark. 18s. net.)

Dr. Ryder Smith's book appears very fitly, as the writer enters upon his new duties as Theological Tutor at Richmond College. It forms part of a thesis approved for his Doctorate in Divinity at London University, and is in every way deserving of such recognition. Few recent books convey such an impression of tireless industry. The fruits of the most patient and exact study are manifest on every page, and the author moves with quiet confidence through the whole of the books of both the Old and the New Testaments. The theme of the book is the gradual unfolding of the doctrine of Society through the Bible history, from the early ideal set forth in the stories of the patriarchs up to the coming of the perfect Man and the vision of the perfect Society indwelt by His Spirit. No other book known to us gives so full and comprehensive a treatment of the subject. The history is divided into five periods—the age of the Patriarchs, the centuries from Moses to Samuel, the Monarchy, the Exile and post-Exilic epoch, the era of Jesus and the Apostles. The literature of each period is closely examined, so as to disclose the varying relationships and to reveal the social ideals that were struggling for expression. That conduct is the child of religion, and that religion means a real relationship to a living God of Righteousness is shown, with a wealth of illustration, to be the great distinguishing mark of all the social teaching of the Bible. From many discussions worthy of note we may single out the analysis of the developing meaning of righteousness in the Old Testament and of meekness in the New. Through the Monarchy the meaning of righteousness, standing for four great social qualities—justice, truth or faithfulness, mercy, and peace—was being wrought out. It is shown with great force how the contrast between Isaiah's dream of a Prince of Peace and the war-lust of Assyria reveals the essence of the religion of Israel. Then, with the break-up of the monarchy, we see the coming of the thought of the worth of the common man, and the dawn of the faith that the religion which had been the possession, first of a single family, then of a group of families, and then of a nation, was destined for all mankind. With this the

thought of righteousness was enlarged, and a new element, that of humility or meekness, appeared, seen most vividly in the suffering Servant whose undeserved sufferings were borne with patience as they were realized as means to the world's blessing. This leads the way to a final discussion of the completion of the thought of meekness in the teaching and person of our Lord, and to the presentation of the perfected society which is the goal of the New Testament. So short a notice must necessarily fail to give any adequate idea of the wealth of this most suggestive work. Its style is grave and measured but always clear. Striking sentences abound, as when it is said of Ezekiel—'His problem was not whether Jehovah could master Babylon, Egypt, or Tyre, but what he would do with them.' Dr. Ryder Smith has made a noble contribution to a subject of surpassing interest, and, though this was not his purpose, has done much to vindicate both the permanent value and the true inspiration of the Old Testament.

Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Edited by Dr. James Hastings. Volume xi. Sacrifice—Sudra. (T. & T. Clark. 35s.)

The latest volume of this invaluable work will enhance its already well-earned prestige. Breadth of outlook is combined with scholarly accuracy. To the opening article on 'Sacrifice,' eleven writers contribute, and, in addition, there are nine cross-references. With similar elaboration, various conceptions of 'Sin' are expounded in fifteen sections, specially noteworthy being Dr. H. R. Mackintosh's luminous interpretation of the Christian doctrine based upon 'the teaching of the New Testament and of great Christian minds.' Occasionally, though rarely, Dr. Hastings has published separately a dictionary article of exceptional value. The two articles by Dr. T. B. Kilpatrick, of Toronto, on 'Salvation' and 'Soteriology' well deserve this distinction. They are complementary, and together form a comprehensive treatise of outstanding merit. The former follows 'through the history of Israel and through the period covered by the New Testament, the experience of salvation'; the latter traces 'the idea of salvation as it manifests itself in successive periods in the history of Christian thought.' A liberal education in the psychological and ethical bases of the Christian doctrine of man is furnished in the group of articles beginning with the prefix 'self,' remembering that 'self' has already been treated under the two headings: 'Personality' and 'Ego.' The mere enumeration of the titles is instructive: self-assertion, self-subjection, self-culture, self-expression, self-love, self-preservation, self-realization, self-respect, self-righteousness, self-satisfaction, self-sacrifice, with cross-references to other articles for the exposition of self-control, self-denial, self-discipline, and self-examination. Amongst the articles which deal with modern themes are: 'Settlements' by F. Herbert Stead, 'Student Christian Movement' by Neville S. Talbot and Hugh

Martin; and amongst those which treat familiar subjects from a modern point of view: 'Socialism,' by Stanley A. Mellor; 'Sociology,' by L. T. Hobhouse; 'Spiritism,' by F. C. S. Schiller, who holds that this term more correctly describes what is popularly known as 'Spiritualism.' Contributors whose names are familiar to readers of this REVIEW are E. E. Kellett, who writes on 'Spinoza' with lucidity and fulness of knowledge; A. E. Balch (Self-Sacrifice), A. S. Geden (Salvation—Hindu), R. W. Rogers, of Drew University (State of the Dead—Babylonian), E. S. Waterhouse (Secularism), H. B. Workman (Stedingers).

The Bible and Modern Thought. By the Rev. J. R. Cohu, M.A. (Murray. 16s. net.)

In 1908 Mr. Cohu published *The Old Testament in the Light of Modern Research*. He saw its imperfections and set himself to rewrite it on entirely new lines. His MS. has had the privilege of critical examination from Professor Burney and Mr. C. G. Montefiore, who each sent him nearly a hundred sheets of notes and suggestions. The aim of the work is to place before educated laymen, students, and ordination-candidates the present attitude of modern thought towards the vexed problems of the origin, composition, and historical trustworthiness of the Old Testament. The book represents years of investigation, and is written from the standpoint of the moderate Higher Criticism. There is no question as to its sustained interest, though opinions will differ as to various conclusions reached. Christ's key to the Bible's moral difficulties, Mr. Cohu says, was 'remember their date and the state of culture then.' He and St. Paul also 'see in the Bible man's progressive education under God as school-master. Here is our clue to the meaning of inspiration.' God 'guides, prompts, stimulates man's own thoughts, suggests the line they are to follow, and leaves it to the man to do the rest.' The Bible is thus both the most human and the most divine of books. In all that concerns God, life, duty, where heart and will are a far truer guide than brain, the Wisdom literature and the lofty prophetic teaching of the Bible stand pre-eminent. Mr. Cohu's chapters on 'The poetry of the Bible not our prose' and 'Truth of idea truer than truth of fact' touch on some delicate problems and have to be received with some reserve of judgement. We quite agree with the author that his work is not likely to be called conservative, but it has been written with a strong desire to promote the interests of true religion, and with conspicuous fairness and ability.

Landmarks in the history of Early Christianity. By Kirsopp Lake, D.D. (Macmillan & Co. 8s. 6d. net.)

According to the preface, Dr. Lake's latest book conveys in a less 'technical form' some of the conclusions he reached in his chapter on 'Primitive Christianity' in the *Prolegomena to Acts*, recently issued. It is useful to have his views so attractively summarized.

His intellectual honesty is as admirable as his scholarship, and the combination invests these lectures with extraordinary interest. He is not always convincing, and on occasions provokes dissent, but this is all to the gain for the student of Christian origins. If the author, however provocative his opinions, advances the cause of truth, he is laying us under a deep obligation. He discusses the development of Christianity under the heads of Galilee, Jerusalem, Antioch, Corinth, and Rome and Ephesus. The ethical teaching of Jesus is held to be limited by the intellectual prepossessions of His age, differing from that of His contemporaries chiefly in interpretation of the law and in particular by His emphasis on 'non-resistance'—a doctrine which as a general principle *for all time* and in the light of subsequent changes of thought in relation to God and man, cannot, as recent events have shown, be regarded as an invariable basis of conduct. The Gospels are a record of the age which produced them. The identification of Jesus with the Apocalyptic 'Son of Man' was made by the disciples rather than by Himself. The amount of Christology attributable to Jesus in the Gospels is meagre. At Antioch the Hellenizing party among the Christians rejected the narrow ideals of Jerusalem. A new name for Jesus appears, namely, 'Lord.' Christianity undergoes further developments at Corinth and became a 'Græco-Oriental cult.' As a mystery religion, Christianity offered 'union with God more definitely than did any rival cult.' It also made more exclusive claims, but did not succeed by virtue of the historic personality of Jesus or by His teaching or by 'a moral *imitatio Christi*.' Finally, as the ideas of the Davidic Messiahship and the 'Son of Man' waned, two forms of thought, Adoptionism and Pre-existence, came into vogue. The first regarded Jesus as an inspired man who, after death, was promoted to divinity; the other thought of Him as a pre-existent being who had become human. Ephesus, in the Fourth Gospel, developed the Logos doctrine, which is the only form of Christological doctrine that can come to terms with modern thought. Such briefly, and too briefly to do justice to the argument, are the main contentions of a thinker who is always stimulating, though as this imperfect summary shows, he states opinions which are certain to be strongly challenged. As a reading of early Christianity, the importance of these lectures cannot be gainsaid. Dr. Lake, it is to be noted, strongly supports the view that Christ conquered the early converts of the empire not as an historic person but as a Redeemer-God.

The Christian Preacher. By Alfred E. Garvie. (T. & T. Clark. 18s. net.)

Dr. Garvie became a preacher thirty-five years ago, and his sense of the call which then came to him has never failed. As Principal of New College he has been a teacher of preachers, and this volume of the International Theological Library is the fruit of ripe experience and study. It is certainly a masterly work, as judicious as it is

learned and broad-minded. The Introduction dwells on the importance of preaching, the definition of preaching, and the characteristics of Christian preaching. After this follows the history of preaching from our Lord Himself to preachers of this generation. It is a feat to pack such a survey into 250 pages. The account of Wesley and Whitefield is excellent, and there is a discriminating note on Hugh Price Hughes. The second part deals with 'the credentials, qualifications, and functions of the preacher.' It shows him in eleven different aspects, as apostle, seer, saint, teacher, &c., and will give every one who reads it a new sense of the responsibility and opportunity of the office. This fitly leads up to the third part on 'The Preparation and the Production of the Sermon,' which is full of practical suggestions of real interest and value. Dr. Garvie urges the advantage of the spoken over the read sermon. An audience can kindle the speaker by its enthusiasm or responsiveness, or put him on his mettle by its indifference or opposition. There is much to learn from this section. The whole book is carefully thought out, and each point is presented in a way that arrests attention and is full of suggestion for practice.

Some Principles of Moral Theology and their Application.

By Kenneth E. Kirk, M.A. (Longmans & Co. 15s. net.)

The object of this volume is to bring together from the Bible and from Christian experience the principles which have guided the Church in dealing with individual souls; to test them by the light of modern knowledge; and to apply them to present-day conditions and needs. St. Thomas Aquinas set himself to reconcile authority with freedom. Some think he went too far in the direction of freedom, others regard the liberty which he allowed the individual as no more than a phantom concession, and trace in the *Summa* the outlines of all modern Roman Catholic authoritarianism. Mr. Kirk has drawn freely upon his writings, and on the work of Sanderson and Jeremy Taylor. Modern Roman Catholic writers have been consulted on matters of principle, and more freely used in regard to practice. The chapter on 'The Healing of the Soul' discusses the character of the director, who must 'exhibit a father's love, and a teacher's authority, a judge's equity, and a physician's skill.' There are sides of this subject from which many shrink, but Mr. Kirk deals with them in a judicious way, and those who are most awake to the perils of the confessional will not be blind to the care and wisdom shown in the discussion.

God and the Supernatural. Edited by Father Cuthbert, O.S.F.C. (Longmans & Co. 15s. net.)

Six Catholic graduates of Oxford here deal with fundamental religious problems, not controversially but with the feeling that many who are seeking for a vital and 'reasonable religion will find in the Catholic faith the religion which they are seeking.' That has been the case

with Mr. Knox, who contributes the introductory chapter. He claims that for the mass of the English-speaking people, Catholicism is a new world of spiritual adventure. Father Martindale writes on *The Supernatural*, the *Sacramental System* and *Life after Death*; Father Cuthbert on the *Person of Christ* and the *Divine Atonement*. Father Martindale claims that 'Christ's Real Presence is upon our altars not merely for our feeding but for Sacrifice.' The Roman Catholic view is skilfully and persuasively set forth for those who can receive it. Those who cannot will find many windows opened into the mind and heart of Catholic thinkers.

Jesus as they saw Him. Part III. The Gospel according to St. Matthew. By J. Alexander Findlay, M.A. (Epworth Press. 3s. 6d. net.)

This brings to a close Professor Findlay's work on the Synoptic Gospels. It is as full of research and as rich in suggestion for students as the earlier parts dealing with St. Mark and St. Luke. St. Matthew's Gospel is Jewish in arrangement, and even more than the Third Gospel is influenced both in its order and its language by Mark. The whole Gospel is almost mathematically arranged. In the first two chapters there are five testimonies and five dreams, just as in the whole Gospel there are five landmarks, built of testimony material. The fact that the Gospel is so unmistakably Jewish in construction as in atmosphere should give us confidence in its interpretation of the Lord's teaching, for His moral teaching is the most thoroughly Jewish thing about Him. St. Matthew's emphasis on 'the risk of missing the soul's great opportunity is the reverse aspect of his insistence upon the greatness of the Lord's Person, when He offered Himself to undone sinners.' It is all fresh and provocative of thought and study. The three parts are now published in one volume (12s. 6d. net), with an index to the chief passages explained. The book is a mine of riches for students of the Synoptists.

Dr. Macintyre, Professor of Theology in St. Andrew's College, Sydney, attempts in *The Other Side of Death* (Macmillan & Co, 8s. 6d. net) to state the doctrine of Christian eschatology in a systematic form, covering the field as a whole. He begins with the eschatology of Israel, and then passes to the apocalyptists and the New Testament. He holds that no words of our Lord can be made to yield a universalist meaning, and thinks that if the faith of the Church had 'clearly grasped the joyous assurance of Paul, it would never have lent itself to the idea of a disembodied spirit waiting for an organism fitting its life in the spiritual world. The writer's own position is a form of what is known as conditional immortality, though he prefers to call it 'potential.' He gives his reasons for this view and answers objections at some length. It is a careful study which will interest those who fail to accept its conclusions. Canon Carnegie, in *Personal Religion and Politics* (Murray, 6s. net),

shows that as the Christian movement developed it affected the most momentous and revolutionary political and social changes. The Church's primary function is to provide individual character-material of a high type. It is not committed to any particular theories of social and political reconstruction and has no right to interfere with the political activities of its members. The ultimate need 'is more than a moral revival, it is a potent and widespread uprising of the religious spirit. Nothing else matters in comparison with this. The world, torn and bleeding, is waiting for a renewed demonstration of Christ's power.' It is a book to be read and thought about by all Christian men.—*Fellowship with God*. By William Temple. (Macmillan & Co. 6s. net.) The first fourteen of these sermons were preached in Westminster Abbey during the first year after Canon Temple's installation. Others were delivered on special occasions which add much to their interest. All deal in some measure with that fellowship with God 'which is the profoundest need and highest blessing of men.' They are carefully reasoned and intensely spiritual and evangelical. It is a rich and ripe book, which makes us thankful that the writer is now Bishop of Manchester.—Mr. Howson was one of the greatest of the pioneer headmasters, and did memorable work at Gresham's School at Holt. His *Sermons by a Lay Headmaster* (Longmans & Co. 6s. net) were preached not more than once a term, but he handled school-boy problems in a way that always proved arresting and influential. The thirty sermons given here are brief, but they are outspoken and full of wise spiritual counsel as to truthfulness, generosity, and the strength to be gained by silent prayer in the midst of temptation. Happy use is made of incidents from history and current events. It is delightful to think of such words as these spoken to school-boys.

The Rev. J. K. Mozley gave three Sunday addresses in St. Margaret's, Westminster, on 'The Historical Character of Christianity.' Other addresses on 'The Apostles' Creed and the Christian Religion' are grouped together in a strong and timely little volume, *Historic Christianity and the Apostles' Creed* (Longmans & Co. 5s. 6d. net). Mr. Mozley holds rightly that 'the Christian religion is rooted in history,' and we 'must appeal firmly and repeatedly to the facts.' The addresses are lucid and forcible.—The Bishop of Ely's examination of Canon Glazebrook's *The Letter and the Spirit*, in *The Creed and the New Testament* (Macmillan & Co., 2s. 6d. net), will be of great interest to students of the historical clauses of the Creed. The task has been distasteful, but the claim that the clauses, 'Born of the Virgin Mary,' and 'He rose again from the dead,' can legitimately be 'interpreted symbolically,' was too serious to be left unanswered, and Dr. Chase has replied with equal fidelity and learning. The pamphlet will repay close study.—In discussing *Principles of Reunion* (8d. net), Father Kelly begins with a Summary of Principles with which Dr. Selbie has expressed his agreement. He thinks that questions of recognition and schism are simply con-

fusing. He holds that episcopacy is necessary to a valid eucharist in the 'High Church' (Catholic) meaning. Some Congregationalists in the United States propose to accept the orders and responsibilities of the Episcopalian priesthood, and the denomination has consented to allow them to do so.—A great deal of matter is packed into the 250 pages of *The Bible: Its Nature and Inspiration*, by Edward Grubb, M.A. (Swarthmore Press, 2s. 6d. net). The first part describes the canon and gives much information about manuscripts and texts. There is also a chapter on Historical and Literary Criticism. Parts 2 and 3 deal with the Old Testament and the New, and two final chapters discuss the inspiration and authority of the Bible.

Recent publications of the S.P.C.K. include *The Incarnation and Personality*, by Herbert A. Watson, D.D. (9s. net), which describes the incarnation as a living power within each human personality. Our union with Christ is a union with a really divine personality, and His immanence is an immanence of God within us. Critics of Christianity are really attacking Christ. It is a careful and helpful study of a supreme subject.—*The Place of Christianity among the Greater Religions of the World*, by A. D. Stewart, M.A. (7s. 6d. net), gives short studies of Mohammedanism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, and then brings out the fact that Christianity stands far above all other religions. It stands alone in bringing morality into closest association with God, while it proclaims His nature as one of absolute holiness.—*Religion and Science from Galileo to Bergson*, by John C. Hardwick (8s. net), shows that the human mind seems unable to rest satisfied with the negations which systematized common sense seeks to impose upon it. It is 'incurably religious,' as Sabatier put it.—*A Short Survey of the Literature of Rabbinical and Mediaeval Judaism*. By W. O. E. Oesterley, D.D., and G. H. Box, D.D. (12s. 6d. net.) This introduction to the literature of post-biblical Judaism gives a general historical survey, and then treats in detail the Rabbinical Literature, the Jewish Liturgy, the Mediaeval Literature. It is a book that many have wished for, and it will be warmly welcomed.—*Barnabas, Hermas, and the Didache*. By J. Armitage Robinson, D.D. (6s. net.) The Dean of Wells delivered these Donnellan lectures before the University of Dublin in 1920. His studies lead him to the conclusion that the Two Ways in the closing section of the Didache is the original work of the author of the Epistle of Barnabas, and was known to Hermas in its earliest form, which spoke of angels of good and evil. The writer of the Didache found the Two Ways in Barnabas, and adopted it as the scheme of the moral teachings which form the first section of his book. It is an important contribution to the study of the Didache and deeply interesting as well as learned.—*The Ethiopic Didascalia*. By J. M. Harden, B.D., LL.D. (9s. net.) The Didascalia is 'a somewhat rambling discourse on Church life and society,' which describes itself as a message to the Church from the

twelve apostles, Paul, and James, assembled in Jerusalem. Dr. Harden's Introduction gives an account of kindred works on Church Orders, and describes the text of the Ethiopic Didascalia. It is a work of unusual interest.—*The Ordination of St. Paul; St. Paul on the Ministry of Women.* By W. J. Sparrow Simpson, D.D. (6d. net each.) The Scripture statement as to St. Paul's ordination and the history of its interpretation are carefully considered, and the conclusion is favoured that his office was not conveyed through human agency. As to the ministry of women it is urged that there is distinct scriptural prohibition for the preaching of women, and that the woman bishop or priest is not even contemplated.—*Geology and Genesis.* By T. G. Bonney. (6d. net.) Prof. Bonney gives here a short account of the earth's story as we learn it from geology and the Book of Genesis, a list of the principal geological formations in the British Isles, and a glossary of technical terms. It is a brief statement that will do much to reconcile science and religion.

The Abingdon Press is sending out a splendid set of books for teachers and Bible students. *The Religion of Judah*, by J. B. Ascham (\$1.50 net), is a companion volume to *The Religion of Israel*, bringing the record down from Rehoboam to the Maccabean period. It is arranged in paragraphs with themes for class discussion, and works for additional reading at the end of each chapter. It will be invaluable for Bible class study.—*Bergson and Personal Realism.* By R. T. Flewelling (\$2 net). A criticism of Bergson's philosophy by one who recognizes that it is of great significance, but feels that the philosophy of change is not complete so long as it remains upon the abstract and impersonal basis. Bergson's definition of personality lacks exactness. Prof. Flewelling follows his criticism by showing that Personality is the supreme metaphysical and spiritual reality. 'Personality is the sole surviving principle in a world of change. So far as we have knowledge, "God and the soul abide."'—*Modern Premillennialism and the Christian Hope*, by H. F. Rall (\$1.50 net), points out the weakness and danger of such teaching, and presents in contrast to it the Christian hope of the kingdom of God. An interesting appendix shows Wesley's fundamental difference of standpoint from modern premillennialism.—*The Vacation Religious Day School.* By Hazel S. Stafford. (\$1 net.) This book is fully outlined for daily lessons and will be of great service in carrying on these schools.—*The Man Who Dares.* By Leon C. Prince. (\$1 net.) Five 'inspirational messages to young people,' which have been warmly received when orally delivered. They are full of good lessons sententiously put.—*Dinah, Queen of the Berbers* (50 cents net), is a religious drama which shows how Christianity in North Africa was utterly crushed by Mohammedanism.—*Rural Evangelism* (\$1 net) is a racy book in touch with actual conditions.—*When We Join the Church* (75 cents net) is a capital manual for the instruction of new members.—*A Hymn of Faith* (25 cents) describes the Church waiting for God's gift of power.

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The Children's Great Texts of the Bible. Edited by James Hastings, D.D. (T. & T. Clark. 9s. net per volume.) Children have established their right to a word from the pulpit, and Dr. Hastings has not been slow to recognize the importance of providing the best material for preachers and teachers who wish to avail themselves of this opportunity of 'making a dint in character.' The three first volumes cover the Old Testament from Genesis to the end of Isaiah. Three more volumes will bring the work to the end of Revelation. The little sermons cover three to five pages, and are very happy in their illustrations and brief expositions.—*The Mysticism of St. John's Gospel.* By Herbert A. Watson, D.D. (Epworth Press. 3s. net.) Four lectures which will appeal to all students of St. John. His mysticism never obscures the humanity of Christ or His divine and human personality. Our Lord's relations to His disciples was that of a friend, and 'no other relation can stimulate and satisfy the religious sense.' This is a book that will well repay careful study.—*Liturgy and Life.* By R. C. Joynt, M.A. (Epworth Press. 3s. net.) A set of short and lucid homilies on the Liturgy with its Canticles, the Sacraments, and the Apostles' Creed. They are well thought out, and lighted up with incident and illustration. Canon Joynt writes as a broad-minded and evangelical Churchman.—*The Life Supreme*, by Robert P. Downes, LL.D. (Epworth Press, 2s. net), is a plea for vital religion and a beautiful and cogent one. The facts about the writer's life and work add much to the interest of the following chapters, which show what man may know of God, and bring out the glory and rewards of vital religion. In the last Dr. Downes looks into 'the heavenly world,' with its 'ineffable consummation of spiritual aspiration and desire.' It is a gracious and alluring little book.—*A Manual for Local Preachers.* By the Rev. J. A. Clapperton, M.A. (Epworth Press. 2s. 6d. net.) This handbook has now reached a fourth edition. It is so clear and so full of good sense that it may be strongly recommended to all young preachers. It has much to say about the making of sermons and the art of illustrating them, and it is all put in the most suggestive and helpful way.—*The Tangle of Good and Evil*, by Ernest J. Glint (Elliot Stock, 1s. 6d. net), is an aid to faith. 'The recognition of our fall, the reception of our redemption, and the growth of our faith by the road of spiritual experience, are necessary foundations to the hope of life.'—*The Charm of the Riddle.* By Baron Max von Oppell. (Maclehose, Jackson & Co. 3s. 6d. net.) Life is the riddle. Is there anything behind this changing world? There is never-ending wonder in the universe, and in every human being. The baron sees in the human mind and soul a sameness of kind with God, though a difference of degree beyond conception. His little study will promote wonder and reverence.—*The Argument from Design.* By Vernon F. Storr, M.A. (Longmans. 2s. net.) The object of Canon Storr's lectures is to show that the argument from design if properly restated is still one of the foundation stones of theism. The emphasis must be placed less upon details than upon

the significance of the whole, and we must see the supernatural in the natural. It is a valuable piece of evidential work.—*Parables in Great Books*. By Herbert Snell, B.A. (Allenson. 5s. net.) The subjects chosen excite interest, and it is well sustained. Balzac's *Atheist Mass* makes a forcible study, and the application is excellently brought out.—*The Minor Prophets Unfolded*. By A. Lukyn Williams, D.D. (2s. 6d. net). A devotional commentary on Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, arranged for daily reading. It will be of much service.—*Public Worship*. By W. J. Tunbridge. (Epworth Press. 2s. 6d. net.) These responsive services have been in use for a few years in some Wesleyan Church in India. They are beautifully arranged and provide a service for each morning and evening of a month with others for special occasions. Mr. Tunbridge has laid the ancient liturgies and the work of Dr. John Hunter and Dr. Orchard under contribution and has produced a little book which will be prized more and more wherever it is used.

The Language of Palestine and adjacent Regions. By J. Courtenay James, M.A., B.D. (T. and T. Clark. 24s. net.) This work is the fruit of many years of study and of prolonged research at the British Museum and the Rylands Library. Sir Ernest Bridge's Foreword expresses high appreciation of the volume and recommends its perusal to all who are interested in the Holy Land. He knows no work in which the language of Palestine is similarly treated. Such a guide appears at an opportune moment and it is based on the best sources. An account is given of the national and political movements represented by the Babylonian, Persian, and Greek conquests, in order to indicate the contact of different languages and the resultant deposit of idioms. Then the genealogical connexion between the manifold branches of the Semitic dialects is shown. This has involved a close study of the inscriptions found in the eight centuries before Christ. The connexion of the Aramaeans with the Hebrews and the way in which their language became the vernacular of Palestine is described. Special attention is given to the alphabet, pronunciation, and vocabulary of Aramaic, and suggestions are made for fuller study. It is not easy to do justice to the research shown in this volume. It is an abstruse subject but Mr. James surrounds it with interest. Terms which belong to the common Semitic stock are heightened in Hebrew. There is a vast gulf between the spiritual conceptions of the Jews and their proud contemporaries. 'In all the Babylonian, Phoenician, Aramaic, and Greek inscriptions, there is no mention of Yahveh, or of any god comparable to Yahveh. Here is the secret and the mystery of the unique and abiding influence of the Israelite.' There is a divinity in the evolution of spoken and written thought. 'To plunge into the midst of the surging, bubbling nomadic tribes in Western Asia a thousand years B.C. is like visiting a gigantic Babel. But to follow the emerging of the great languages is to witness the manifestation of an intelligence extra-temporal and supra-human.'

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, TRAVEL

Among the Natives of the Loyalty Group. By E. Hadfield.
(Macmillan & Co. 12s. 6d. net.)

As the wife of a London missionary, Mrs. Hadfield enjoyed exceptional opportunities for thirty years of studying the customs and folklore of the Loyalty Islands, and all who are interested in such subjects have reason to be grateful for the pains she has spent in recording the facts thus gleaned. Such material will be quite unobtainable after this generation has gone. She went to the warm grass hut of their native caretaker at Uvea, and sitting on the mats by the wood fire, listened attentively with a grave face to the most impossible stories. The legends are preceded by a full account of the islands and the characteristics of the natives. The sea was the public playground, and children learnt to swim at a very early age, as naturally as they learnt walking. The thirty-two legends are of peculiar interest, and there is a short chapter on proverbs. The book is cleverly illustrated, brightly written, and packed with strange things about a world of wonders.

The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia. By Rev. Edwin W. Smith and Captain Andrew Murray Dale.
In two Volumes. (Macmillan & Co. 50s. net.)

These volumes represent thirteen years of first-hand study by a missionary and a magistrate who worked along different lines and used different methods, but with one aim. Captain Dale's peregrinations through the district and his work in his court, and Mr. Smith's more stationary life both contributed to the range of their observations. Their native assistants did valuable service in writing down conversations, and one of them collected from old chiefs and wrote down an account of his father's people. Mr. Smith says, 'We have devoted some of our best years to their improvement. We believe them to be a people of great capacity, who with sympathetic, patient, firm guidance may advance very far.' After leaving the British South African Company's service, in 1910, Mr. Dale took a farm within sight of the Kasenga Mission. When war broke out he gained a commission and was severely wounded at Loos. He then returned, crippled and broken, to the service of the South African Company, and died of black-water fever in May, 1919. Mr. Smith did splendid service as a Primitive Methodist missionary, and after serving as a chaplain during the war is now working for the Bible Society in the Latin countries of Europe. The Ila-speaking people of Northern Rhodesia live to the north of the Batoka plateau, above the middle Zambesi. When the grass fires have swept over

it the game frequents the plain in great numbers, and along the river's bank there is a wonderful profusion and variety of water-fowl and other birds. The largest villages are near the river bank, and when the waters recede have ready access to the richest grazing. The climate is equable and mild for the greatest part of the year. Frosts are rare and never exceed two degrees. Two herds of elephants visit the district annually on their migrations, following a route centuries old. Antelopes and other creatures abound, and are hunted by lion, leopard, serval, cheetah, wild dog, hyena, and jackal. The population is small and there are few children. This is largely due to the promiscuity of their sexual relations, and the early age at which these relations begin. Behind all the actions and customs of the people lies their conception of the unseen, and the section of the book which deals with dynamism, the doctrine of souls, and the divinities is one of the strangest and most illuminating studies of the kind that we know.

The Household Account Book of Sarah Fell of Swarthmoor Hall. Edited by Norman Penney, F.S.A. (Cambridge University Press. 42s. net.)

Sarah Fell was the step-daughter of George Fox, and her account book ranges from September 25, 1673, to August 15, 1678. Extracts from it have appeared in various works, but it has been reserved for Mr. Penney to edit it, and for the Cambridge University Press to publish it in this handsome volume. The original is all in the handwriting of Sarah Fox and has been copied from some earlier accounts, perhaps kept in her 'pockett booke.' Mr. Brownbill writes a most instructive Introduction, pointing out the light that the accounts throw on the business undertakings of the Fells and their kindred; as well as on the conditions of life in one of the larger houses of Furness in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Swarthmoor Hall is supposed to have been built about 1600, and from its size it is clear that the Fells had by that time acquired wealth and were occupying a good position among the local families. Judge Fell's wife became a convert of Fox's on his first visit to the district in 1652. After ten years of widowhood she married George Fox. Many entries show the wages of the time. A maid receives 6s. 6d. for the quarter; women working in the hayfield got one penny each for the day; others for dressing peat received threepence or fourpence. Two mowers got sixpence each per day, and their food cost the Fells eightpence each per day. Three boys for harrowing got a halfpenny each daily. There is a full account of the manuscript and a note by Alice Clark on the economy of a gentleman's household as revealed in these accounts. Two pounds was paid to a maid servant who sold the Fells' dairy produce in the markets. The accounts are a wonderful picture of vanished days and customs, and they have been edited in a way that well brings out their meaning.

Mr. Balfour. A Biography. By E. T. Raymond. (Collins Sons & Co. 12s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Raymond has a good subject, and his critical faculty is not allowed to slumber. He regards Mr. Balfour as the type of the man of action in whom great powers of comprehension go with some deficiency of judgement and a marked deficiency of energy. His performances have been notable, 'but it is vaguely felt that the man is more notable still; in the midst of his greatest failures he was more interesting than other men in their most triumphant success.' Lord Beaconsfield is said to have prophesied that 'Arthur Balfour will be a second Pitt.' Mr. Raymond's description of his mother and his college life is of great interest. Mr. Balfour's courage and intellectual force were conspicuous in his arduous task as Secretary for Ireland. The mixture of flexibility and tenacity in his character was undoubtedly a considerable asset to the country in the very peculiar circumstances of his premiership. 'A less adroit man must have been wrecked in the confusion wrought by Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal adventure. A less quietly obstinate man must have given up in despair and disgust the task of carrying on and fighting for time.' A discriminating account is given of his wise and tactful service during the war and in the memorable mission to the United States. Mr. Raymond says that 'like most indolent men who are forced to it, he got through a vast deal of work.' He is devoted to Handel as the 'greatest master of choral effect the world has ever seen.' A valuable chapter on Mr. Balfour's contribution to philosophy is written by Mr. Wyatt Tilby. The biography is very much alive, and there is not a dull page in it.

Letters of Principal James Denney to W. Robertson Nicoll, 1898-1917. (Hodder & Stoughton. 7s. 6d. net.)

This is a record of a twenty-five years' friendship. Dr. Denney was one of the constant contributors to the *British Weekly*, and often wrote to his friend when he sent in his reviews and articles. Sir William's appreciation and the memories of Prof. Robertson, one of his old students, supply a biographical framework. The letters cover a wide range. Denney reads Wesley and dwells on his genius in the spiritual world. 'He did things, and he got them done, and that was all.' Nothing amused him more than Wesley's criticisms on the books he read. 'For distinctness and emphasis it would be impossible to surpass them.' In 1902 he writes: 'How the Nonconformists seem to want a man of weight just now like Dale! Fairbairn can never be an Englishman, with all his ability, and there could not be a more fatal drawback to any one wishing to deal with an English question.' He is sure that the Sermon on the Mount 'was meant to defy the mind, which is a great part of the art of preaching. . . . It would be a great point gained if people would only consider that it was a sermon, and was *preached*, not an *act* which was *passed*.' He has 'great faith that the Bible way

of looking at everything human and divine will win in the long run, because it is the big way; and all uncorrupted minds succumb to that eventually. It is half-educated sophists who write New Theologies, deceiving and being deceived.' Many will be grateful to Sir W. R. Nicoll for sharing his treasures so freely with his friends.

Belgium and the Western Front. British and American.
 Edited by Findley Muirhead, M.A., F.R.G.S. (Macmillan & Co. 15s. net.)

The third of the *Blue Guides* makes a strong appeal to the English-speaking world. Major-General Sir F. Maurice's masterly sketch of 'The British Campaigns in the West' is the most complete and informing survey that we have seen and will repay reading more than once. An historical sketch of Belgium, M. Mesnil's 'Art in Belgium,' accounts of the battlefields and the war-graves are also given. The Guide sketches the approaches from England and then describes the Western Front, Belgium beyond the Front, and the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg. There are sixty maps and plans of the chief towns. The book is as complete and as reliable as its two predecessors, *London* and *England*, and every one who visits the war-zone or who wishes to know about it will find it supplies everything they require in the most convenient form.

Little Treasure Island: Her Story and her Glory. By
 Arthur Mee. (Hodder & Stoughton. 10s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Mee describes scenes in the story and the glory of our island, and then concentrates on the great adventure during the war. Every boy and girl will find the book a school for patriotism and will drink in every word of this master with delight. He shows how 'the spirit of the island, working always in the lives of its people and spreading quietly everywhere, has at times burst suddenly on the world like a thing from the skies, so that the world has stood and wondered as a child at the opening of a rose or the rising of the sun; and at these times the power of the Island has been the most precious thing on earth, crushing the oppressor, releasing the captive, uplifting the fallen, and bringing new strength and hope to millions of mankind.' The coming of Christianity, the story of Raleigh, the genius of Shakespeare lead up to the history of the great War. It is a delight to look at the pictures and to read Mr. Mee's spirited story. Every chapter makes one prouder of one's country and more sensible of its claim upon all its children.

The Mirrors of Downing Street. Some Political Reflections by a Gentleman with a Duster. (Mills & Boon. 5s. net.)

This pungent book has already reached a fourth edition. The fact that it seeks to pour a flood of daylight on the character of

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such men as Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Asquith, and Mr. Balfour, and that it is serenely confident in its verdicts has made people eager to read it. The writer maintains that no criticism is so good for public men as criticism of character, and pleads that his object has been to raise the tone of our public life. For Lord Haldane and Lord Fisher he has nothing but praise. Mr. Balfour seems to us most unkindly treated. The critic finds in him 'a capacity for meanness which rather darkens his good qualities'; and a lack of sensibility. That seems to us the least convincing of the sketches. Mr. Lloyd George is represented as taking upon him the future of civilization, 'and here he trusted not to vision and conscience, but to compromise, makeshift, patches, and the future of civilization is still dark indeed.' The writer knows his men, but we are by no means convinced that his judgements are sound and they are often very far from charitable. The estimate of Lord Inverforth is one of the most flattering in the gallery of portraits.

The Rites of the Twice-Born. By Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, M.A., Sc.D. (Milford. 21s. net.)

A missionary's wife, who has studied Sanscrit with her husband under Professor Macdonnell, has a right to be heard on this subject. Dr. Stevenson has discussed every part of her work with three Brahman pundits, and has recorded no fact without the consent of all three. She never met better or finer patience and accuracy in teaching than these schoolmasters showed. Her object has been to furnish one newly landed in India with some clue to the faith of the people. The life-story of a Brahman is traced from the cradle to the grave and a careful account is given of times and seasons; and of Siva, Visnu, and other temple worship. The last chapter shows the appeal of Christ to the twice-born. That comes not merely through the Christian creed, or the work of Christ for man, but through what Christ is Himself. He fulfils the highest ideals of the sons of the new India, removes all their fears, and offers them, with outstretched hands, the unsearchable riches of His love. The book is intensely interesting, and gives a unique view of a fascinating subject.

A Short History of the British Commonwealth. In two Volumes. By Ramsay Muir. Vol. I. (George Philip & Son. 17s. 6d. net.)

Professor Muir here attempts to tell, within moderate compass, the story of the British Commonwealth. His first volume brings the history down to 1763. It thus covers the part of the record which is common to all the English-speaking peoples and will appeal to the United States and our dominions and colonies as well as to the mother country. It gives a clear and distinctive treatment to the history of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, and in the second part lays emphasis on the history of the colonies, the development of oversea

trade, and the part of the Navy in determining the fortunes of the Commonwealth as a whole. The book is written with an easy mastery which commands confidence and is full enough to be interesting from first to last. The treatment of the Methodist Revival is excellent. Professor Muir sees how the Church of England failed to recognize Wesley's work. The last sentence of the section is a fine tribute: 'Pitt and Wesley: the two men, different as they were, are in a strange way linked together. They were the two Greathearts who slew the giant Sloth.' We shall look forward to the second volume of this valuable and timely work.

The Egyptian Problem. By Sir Valentine Chirol. (Macmillan & Co. 7s. 6d. net.)

This book comes at an opportune moment. The Egyptian Party of Independence has found an able and determined leader in Zaghlul Pasha, and Lord Milner's Commission has gone carefully into the problems on the spot, and has made broad-minded suggestions for reform. Sir Valentine Chirol first felt the fascination of the East forty-four years ago. He saw the last days of the Khedive Ismail's evil reign, was an eye-witness of Arabi's revolt, and has been in close touch ever since with Egypt and the chief actors on the Egyptian stage. He gives a vivid account of Mehemet Ali, the Albanian who created modern Egypt, and traces all the developments of political life in the country down to our own times. High honour is paid to Lord Cromer. The rise of the Nationalist movement is described in detail, and the last chapter treats of 'The need for an honourable solution.' We have to face a situation which has never existed since 1882. The policy to which our Government is pledged is that which is now universally recognized as the only one that can knit the Empire together, 'namely, partnership between its members for common defence, and freedom to each to develop constitutionally on its own individual lines.' The subject is one of pressing importance, and this book puts within every one's reach the material for forming a wise judgement upon it.

Mazzini's Letters to an English Family, 1844-1854. (John Lane. 16s. net.)

This collection of letters, written two generations ago, is published at an opportune hour. For it presents to us the early phases of that long Italian struggle against Austria, the last chapters of which have been written in the annals of the greater struggle of our own days. In this last phase England and Italy have been partners in the fellowship of a common peril, and of equal sacrifice; both are realizing in the hour of victory the deep necessity of a yet closer alliance for the purposes of peace and the prosperous ordering of national life. Mazzini's letters to the Ashurst family belong to a period when even the friendship of England for Italy was marked by patronage, and when few in this country discerned the real and

European issues of the Italian claim to nationality and to democratic freedom. Mazzini arrived in England—'the only European country where no price lay upon his head'—in 1837. Seven years later the violation of his correspondence by our Government aroused a storm of indignation against official connivance with Austrian oppression, and a yet more profitable sympathy for its victims exiled in our land. From 1844 the house of the Ashursts at Muswell Hill became a true home to Mazzini; there he found not only political sympathy and intellectual fellowship, but the warmer friendship for which his deeply affectionate nature hungered. Hence these letters are an intimate revelation of the *man* himself, an invaluable contribution to our knowledge of one of the noblest characters, one also of the greatest prophets, of the nineteenth century. We cannot know too much of Mazzini, for he is much more than a great Italian; he is a great European, a great *human*; more knowledge carries with it more reverence for this lifelong martyr of the ideal in politics and history. Mrs. Richards (known already to the readers of *Mario's Birth of Modern Italy*) has done her editorial work with excellent care and skill. Short passages of comment on Italian events make clear the context of the letters even to readers unfamiliar with the *Risorgimento* history; Mazzini's own letters are such as to fling into relief those features of greatness which made him during his life the most feared and most loved of the Italian leaders of an heroic age, and have made him, after his death, the immortal teacher and inspirer of true democracy for later ages and other lands than his own. His unquenched faith, his selflessness, his courage, his religion in a word—speak through every page of this precious book. We trust that a second volume from the same source will fulfil a like purpose for the later period of his life.

Seven Theistic Philosophers. An Historico-Critical Study.

By James Lindsay. (Blackwood & Sons. 10s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Lindsay thinks that the world owes a greater debt to these 'illustrious unknown' than has been at all realized. They belong to the School of Speculative Theology, and have never been dealt with by any British writer. It seemed fitting, therefore, to prepare this study for the credit of British philosophical knowledge and interest. Dr. Lindsay has sought to present the quintessence of their thought as he has drawn it from extended study of the German sources. J. H. Fichte, S. H. Weisse, K. P. Fischer, H. M. Chabybäus, F. Hoffman, H. Ulrici, F. A. Trendelenburg, are the seven philosophers who 'rid themselves of subservience to Hegel,' and made meritorious contribution to theistic world-view. 'They had clearly perceived that the differences between theistic and pantheistic world-views centred around the concept or idea of personality in God and in man, and the personality concept they made the corner-stone of their theistic speculation.' The account of each man's work is luminous, and though deep subjects have to be handled, the chapters

are interesting as well as acute in their criticism. It is a little book, but it deals with a vital subject in a masterly fashion.

Walter de Wenlock, Abbot of Westminster. By E. H. Pearce, Bishop of Worcester. (S.P.C.K. 12s. net.)

When Dr. Pearce was Canon of Westminster he gave much attention to the muniment room, and since his removal to Worcester he has found time for further visits, and has been able to finish this life of one of the most capable and indefatigable business men among the abbots of Westminster. He was unanimously elected to the office in 1283 and died in 1307. His life was one of perpetual motion, yet he kept his hand on the daily life of the monastery. When the business of the chapter was finished, he would have the prior or senior monk who presided proceed along the dark cloister to the infirmary, visit all the sick and infirm, inquire into their wants and bring them next day before the chapter in order that they might be supplied. If one of the infirm brethren was feeling lonely a companion was to be assigned him. The estates, the expenses and debts, and the chief events of the abbot's rule are described in a picturesque way.

The S.P.C.K. is doing splendid service by its stream of publications. Dr. Mackean's *Christian Monasticism in Egypt* (8s. net) shows how monasticism grew out of the special conditions of thought and life in Egypt, and gives a detailed account of the Pachomian system and other types of Egyptian monasticism.—*Some Eighteenth Century Churchmen*, by G. L. May, M.A. (9s. net), gives brief biographies of Samuel Johnson, George Whitefield, John Wesley, John Newton, William Cowper, Bishops Porteus and Watson, Hannah More, George Crabbe, and William Wilberforce. Mr. May regards Wesley as 'alike one of our greatest Churchmen and one of our greatest Englishmen,' and hopes that Methodism 'may come back to Mother Church, and take once more an honoured place within her fold as a preaching order for the revival of personal fervour for Christ.'—The Rev. R. F. Bigg-Wither, who spent six years in Russia and has since then been in constant communication with his friends, writes *A Short History of the Church of Russia: Its Teaching and its Worship* (8s. net). The Bolshevik reign of terror has purged the Church and invested her with the dignity, usefulness, and authority of ancient times. It is a survey which is sure of a welcome.—*A Short History of Russia*. By A. R. Ephimenko. Translated by Herbert Moore, M.A. (6s. 6d. net.) This work was written for schools by a Petrograd professor before the war and brings the history down to the assassination of Alexander II in 1881. Mr. Moore gives the chief events of the two following reigns in a brief appendix which closes with the murder of Nikolas II, 1917.—*Christian Morals*, by A. J. Humphreys (4s. net), is a comprehensive and well-balanced text book for ministers and teachers.—*St. Bernard of*

Clairvaux's Life of St. Malachy of Armagh. By H. J. Lawlor, D.D., D.Litt. (S.P.C.K. 12s. net.) This *Life* was written before the Synod of Kells in 1152. The Introduction gives a clear account of the ecclesiastical condition of Ireland, valuable notes are added to the translation, and four letters from St. Bernard to Malachy, and two sermons upon him are given.—The valuable series, *The Story of English Towns* (4s. net), includes *Birmingham*, by Canon Masterman; *Nottingham*; *Harrogate and Knaresborough* and *St. Albans*. They are brightly written and well illustrated. Sketches are given of famous men and great movements, the natural features are described, and local industries have their due share of attention.—We do not know a better brief account of the great Christian burial-place than that given by Rev. A. Henderson in *The Lesson of the Catacombs* (2s. 6d. net).—*Character Building in Kashmir*, by C. E. Tyndale-Biscoe (8s.), shows how scout methods may lift up an effete race and make it manly, healthy, and Christian.—In 'Helps for Students of History,' we have two sets of extracts illustrating Florentine history (1s. net each); *A Guide to Franciscan Studies* (1s. 6d. net), and handbooks on *Seals, Coins and Medals*, *The French Revolution*, *The Latin Orient*, the *Manuscripts of the British Museum*, and of Trinity College, Dublin. They are little masterpieces.

William Honyman Gillespie. By James Urquhart, F.S.A. (Scotland). (T. & T. Clark. 5s.) Mr. Gillespie was one of the ablest Scottish Christian philosophers of the last century. He set himself to construct the *a priori* argument with such a train of irresistible demonstration as should silence, if not convince, the professed atheist. Prof. Mackintosh says in a *Foreword* to this volume that 'by succeeding stages Mr. Gillespie claims to prove that the sole infinite Being is all-knowing, all-powerful, entirely free, completely happy, perfectly good, inflexibly just, all-loving, all-beautiful, all-wise, ever-blessed.' His widow left a considerable part of her estate to extend the circulation of his works, and that has made possible this valuable study of a true and deep thinker.—*Letters of Theophilus Lindsey.* By H. McLachlan, M.A., D.D. (Longmans & Co. 6s. net.) Theophilus Lindsey took his Christian name from his godfather, son of Frances, Countess of Huntingdon. As clergyman at Catterick he is said to have formed the first Sunday School in England actually so called. In 1773 he resigned his living in consequence of his adoption of Unitarian views, and next year became minister of Essex Street Chapel, in London. He was a friend of Dr. Priestley, and tells a friend, 'I am as much an idolator of Mr. Paine's book' (*The Rights of Man*) 'as you are, and trust our nation will profit by it.' He refers to Wesley's death and to Hampson's *Life of Wesley*. The concluding part of the account of Wesley's last days is described as 'far more unscriptural and enthusiastic' (than Dr. Whitehead's funeral sermon), 'but it seems to have been put upon the pious old man by the zealous and devout women that were around him.'

That is a strange perversion of the facts, but Wesley was not likely to be in favour with the 'father of Unitarian churchmanship.'—*Five Years' Hell in a Country Parish*. By the Rector of Rusper. (Stanley Paul & Co. 5s. net.) Mr. Synott has passed through a terrible strain, and we do not wonder that he writes bitterly of some of the things that have gone on in his parish. He describes it as a hotbed of gossip, and gives a painful account of the woes through which he passed. The brightest times were when he went over to Roffey Camp, where he was acting as chaplain. He also successfully worked a farm of 400 acres for three years besides attending to his parish. He had to milk twelve cows, attend to the calves and poultry before early Communion; then he drove to Roffey for his parade service and got back at eleven for his morning service at Rusper.—*Life in a Sussex Windmill*. By E. A. Martin, F.G.S. (Allen & Donaldson.) The writer lived for some time in a stone windmill on Clayton Downs, not far from Hassocks. It was not an easy thing to furnish circular rooms with walls that projected inwards as they rose from the floor. He gives an amusing account of the eerie noises at night, the tremendous wind, the invasions of slugs, mice, and earwigs, but he has much also to tell of the geology, the dew ponds, the sheep, and the local customs and names, and he tells it well. There is much to learn from this pleasant record, and the photographs add distinctly to its interest.

Many will be glad to secure Mr. G. M. Trevelyan's masterpieces, *Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic*, *Garibaldi and the Thousand*, *Garibaldi and the Making of Italy*. Messrs. Nelson & Sons have added the three volumes to *The Edinburgh Library of Non-Fiction Books* (2s. 6d. net). Mr. Trevelyan says in a brief Preface that he did not expect when he began to study the life of Garibaldi fourteen years ago that he would serve for three years with the Italian army and become intimate with the sons and grandsons of men recorded in these pages in the final war of the *Risorgimento*. Because of the history recorded, in these volumes, Italy fought on the side of freedom, but for that history she would still have been a province of Germanized Austria. Garibaldi's story has gained fresh significance through the Great War and there will be a new circle of readers for these thrilling stories of the making of Italy.—*Abraham Lincoln: The Practical Mystic*. By Francis Grierson. With an Introduction by John Drinkwater. (John Lane. 5s. net.) Students of Lincoln ought not to overlook this little book. Mr. Drinkwater holds that 'in modern history there is no man whose life so finely bears for the world the significance of a great work of creative wisdom as Abraham Lincoln.' His 'life stands for the *Lear* and *Macbeth*, and *Twelfth Night* and *Tempest* of Shakespeare. And it is the spectacle of the one perfecting his own soul that moves us as deeply and instructs us as surely as that of the other perfecting the creatures of his imagination.' Lincoln regarded himself as an instrument of Providence. He was a practical mystic and combined the spiritual with the prac-

tical, clear vision and penetration of the future with the maxims of ordinary business.—*Saint Sophia and Constantinople: History and Art.* By Dr. M. D. Volonakis. (Hespera Press. 3s.) The history of Constantinople and the story of the building of Hagia Sophia are here told by an expert who glories in the great church, and longs for the day when it will be restored to Christian worship. No other church has held such a place in a nation's life. 'In its name is centred the entire duration of Byzantine history.'—*David Livingstone: Missionary and Explorer*, by J. Alfred Sharp (Epworth Press, 6s. and 1s. 9d. net), will be read with interest by those who know the subject well, and will be a welcome addition to every family and school library. The story is told with sympathy and skill. The first chapter on Africa and its explorers prepares the way for the life and work of Livingstone, and the last on 'The Challenge of Africa,' shows the menace of Mohammedanism in an arresting way. Livingstone is one of the world's heroes, and this bright and well-informed biography will have a warm welcome and deserves it.—*Rides in China.* (Church Missionary Society. 1s.) This is a painting book with pictures by Vera Bowyer which have caught the salient features of Chinese life. Chin Chow Jack is a charming little chap as he rides on his mother's back, nestles in his father's market tub, or gets a seat on a wheelbarrow. The descriptive pages add to the interest of the vivid pictures.—*Fights for Freedom.* By John Lea. (Epworth Press. 1s. 6d. net.) These heroic deeds of the great war are well chosen and vividly told. They give a good general view of many struggles by land and sea. Aeroplanes and submarines all have their record. It is a capital little book and well illustrated by Henry Evison.—*The Hymns of Methodism in their Literary Relations.* By Henry Bett. (Epworth Press. 3s. net.) This is a new and revised edition of a charming little book which shows that the Wesley hymns form a unique literature of devotion. Mr. Bett shows the sources from which the hymns drew their inspiration. A special feature of the new edition is an appendix on John Wesley's hymns. Mr. Bett thinks he has discovered certain characteristics in hymns which are known to be John Wesley's, and uses these to claim eleven more hymns for him. It is a masterly examination of a much debated subject.—*Ten Weeks*, by H. R. Calkins (Abingdon Press, 50 cents net), is the journal of a missionary during a revival in Cawnpore. It gives real insight into the life of the people and records some memorable conversions.—*A History of Hindi Literature.* By F. E. Keay, M.A. (Oxford University Press. 2s. 6d. net.) The object of this volume is to give a clear and trustworthy outline of the history of the modern vernacular literature of Hindostan. Its golden age began about 1550 under the Mughal sovereigns. An artistic influence was introduced into the literature, leading to greater polish in versification and form. The decline came at the end of the eighteenth century when the Mughal empire decayed. A new influence came in Hindi literature through contact with the culture of Europe. The various periods and their writers are well described.

GENERAL

Old English Ballads, 1553-1625. Chiefly from Manuscripts.
 Edited by Hyder E. Rollins, Ph.D. (Cambridge University Press. 18s. 6d. net.)

WE owe this collection of ballads to the Assistant Professor of English in New York University. It throws much light on the struggle between Protestants and Catholics, which called forth more black-letter ballads than any other subject. One of the earliest broadsides rejoices over the dissolution of the monasteries in Cornwall and Devon :

The vicare of pon wdstoke with his congeracion
 Commanded them to sticke to ther Idolatry,
 They had made much proui[s]ion and great preperacion,
 For God hath gyuen our Kynge the victorye.

Such rhymes were pleasing to Henry VIII and his admirers. To some ballads he bitterly objected and spared no pains to suppress them. The attacks on Wolsey and Thomas Cromwell particularly displeased him. His daughter Mary came to the throne amid sincere rejoicings. Six months after her accession she issued a proclamation against the printing of 'books, ballads, rhymes, and interludes' without special licence. Men of education and social standing wrote ballads as well as the professional ballad-mongers, and active steps were taken to control them. Dr. Rollins gives much out-of-the-way information in his Introduction. He groups the ballads themselves according to subjects, prefacing each with an account of the manuscript authority and the special interest of the ballad. The ballads are in five groups—those relating to Queen Mary I; to Protestant Martyrs; Catholic ballads; Protestant and Moralizing ballads; and Miscellaneous ballads. 'Jerusalem, my happy home,' by F. B. P., is given in full among the Catholic ballads, with notes on other versions.

Christian Socialism. By Charles E. Raven, M.A. (Macmillan & Co. 17s. net.)

There seemed hardly room for a new book on this subject. But a perusal of Mr. Raven's amply demonstrates that there is. Not only is Mr. Raven a master of his subject in all its details, but he knows how to display his knowledge in attractive style. Even to those expert in the subject this book is full of instruction and fresh information. Mr. Raven sets out to rehabilitate the Christian Socialists, and entirely succeeds in doing so. He is a hero-worshipper, especially of Ludlow and Maurice. Kingsley, an acknowledged 'genius' in the movement, is seen to be, however, of less value than either of

the other two. Ludlow was the true founder of the Christian social movement in the late forties and has never received his due. He gets it here. Certainly he was a wise, strong, prescient Christian social reformer, whose work and works will be increasingly returned to in the new age of a whole Christian Church alive to its social duty. Ludlow was a pioneer, and anticipated nearly all the Christian social teaching which is often put forth to-day as new. Another man for whom Mr. Raven has a strong word of praise as a pioneer in Christian Social Reform, even of Christian Socialism, is Southey. It is merited, for he remained faithful to his social ideals when greater men, his friends, Coleridge and Wordsworth, forsook them. Of course Owen was the pioneer of Social Reform and of Socialism in England, but, as Mr. Raven points out, he did as much harm as good to the movement by his attacks on religion. Mr. Raven does not mention Rev. James Smith—'Shepherd' Smith—an elder contemporary of Ludlow and Maurice, the founder and editor of the *Family Herald*. He was a real pioneer of Christian Socialism also, and by his writing in his cheap press for the people turned thousands from materialism and infidelity. A valuable vindication is here also given of Maurice, from the charge of vagueness and ineffectiveness. He is afresh shown to be one of England's true prophets, a very wise, far-seeing man. Before the social question is settled in this country or in Christendom, Maurice's wisdom will have to be drawn upon anew. These great Christian Socialists 'vindicated for Christianity its true authority over industry and trade,' and their memories and work will be revived now that that necessary task is again being undertaken. The chief value of Mr. Raven's book is its proof that the Co-operative Production Schemes of the Christian Socialists anticipated the work of our modern Guild socialists; that they were meant, finally, if successful, to revolutionize and Christianize the whole system of production and distribution. They failed temporarily because they were premature. The moral and intellectual condition of the workers was too poor. But it is only upon their principles and lines that there is hope for the future. Mr. Raven is very severe upon the Fabian State Socialistic outlook and holds that Mrs. Webb never did justice to the Christian Socialists. Mr. Raven holds that now that Guild socialism has rescued Co-operative Production from intellectual contempt a study of the Christian Socialists 'will establish their almost prophetic insight, originality, and courage.' They taught that the righteous relation in industry was partnership, not the sole control of the masters or capitalists. They 'aimed at nothing less than the eventual abolition of the whole wages system.' They stood for fellowship and brotherhood in industry, and to bring in the Kingdom of God into the factory. Writing upon 'the failure' of Co-operative Products in their time, Kingsley truly said in 1856, 'So long as the Christian ethic is accepted and men confess that love is more righteous than hate, co-operation than competition, association than selfishness, the experiment will have to be repeated.' We are to-day on the verge of such new experiments, but these too will



fail if the Christian temper and control be lacking. It is for an awakened Church to supply that imperative thing.

The Psychical Phenomena of Spiritualism. By Hereward Charrington, Ph.D. (Kegan Paul. 12s. 6d. net.)

This book was first published in 1907, and has been out of print for several years. The author is convinced that 'genuine physical phenomena—even materializations—occur in a genuine manner,' but that they are rare and that 'ninety-eight per cent. of the physical phenomena are fraudulently produced.' Some interesting explanations are given of the devices employed by fraudulent mediums who undertook to read sealed letters. Slate-writing tests, and holding tests, spirit-photography and mind-reading performances are explained in a striking way. These exposures fill 320 pages; the genuine phenomena are disposed of in the last 100 pages. Dr. Charrington began his investigations as a pronounced sceptic, but reached the conclusion that some phenomena at any rate are not due to fraud. His book will make most readers more sceptical as to these matters even than the author himself.

The Threefold State. By Dr. Rudolph Steiner. (Allen & Unwin. 5s. net.)

It is difficult to write a fresh book upon the social question. Dr. Steiner has managed to do so. He is an Austrian, and his thought is largely governed by that fact. His book was published in German early in 1919, and has had a circulation of over 100,000 copies on the Continent. It is here turned into readable English. Dr. Steiner holds that the single unitary State which combines all purposes is entirely unfitted for the complexity of the needs of modern civilization. It has broken utterly down, and the Great War was the demonstration of it. He believes this to be true of victors and vanquished alike. No one Parliament or Government can ever again represent aright the economic, political, and spiritual interests of society. His solution is 'The Threefold State.' Each nation is to be grouped within three independent though related Parliaments. An Economic Parliament, with complete control of production, distribution, and exchange. A Political Parliament, which shall determine all 'rights' and all taxation. A Spiritual Parliament, which shall foster the intellectual, aesthetic, and religious life of the nation. The first Parliament corresponds to our Guild socialism. The second and third transcend it. Just as in the human body life is ordered by the services of three departments independent yet related, the nervous, the circulatory, and the digestive—the head, the chest, and the stomach—so must it be with the body social. It must be so because the latter is fundamentally based upon the former. Hitherto this has not been realized. The proposal is not to set up three 'estates' or 'classes,' after the manner of Plato's Republic, but to organize each and all three times over

in the whole interests of each and all. Every individual and each interest to be represented in each Parliament. Dr. Steiner will have no co-ordinating, over-riding, central State or monarch—that is his *bête noir*, the source of all our woe. Do statesmen, publicists, and politicians say this is 'impracticable' and a dream—that, to Dr. Steiner, is the proof how entirely out of touch with realities they are, even though they are bearing all the burdens of the unhappy world. To him this is the only way of lasting reconstruction. Much criticism and questioning are possible and inevitable. But it is an arresting book, which is occupying the minds of Continental statesmen like Simon, Benes, and Venizelos. Very attractive is the demand for entire 'spiritual freedom,' in the widest sense of the word 'spiritual.' There must be no State education, no control of professors, universities, or literature, no indoctrination of a system of ideas. Freedom of thought, idea, feeling, and spiritual activity is the demand of Dr. Steiner. The book should be read by social students.

Symbiosis: A Socio-Physiological Study of Evolution. By H. Reinheimer. (Headley Bros. 15s. net.)

The main conclusion which this treatise seeks to enforce is that normal relations between organisms, more particularly those having regard to food, involve a stupendous amount of systematic biological reciprocity. Duties and obligations to contribute to the welfare of the organic family, as a whole, thus devolve upon all organisms, and they must be fulfilled on pain of degeneration or destruction. Mr. Reinheimer's previous studies have led him to this view of symbiosis or systematic biological co-operation. In Nature as in human life the best results are achieved by a system of wholesome— independent though interdependent—labour. The subject is worked out with much knowledge and discernment and throws light on many processes of Nature.

The Captives. By Hugh Walpole. (Macmillan & Co. 7s. 6d. net.) Mr. Walpole has never done a better piece of work than this. The Kingscote Brethren seem to live in his pages, and their minister and his family are sketched with a masterly skill, but Maggie Cardinal is the heroine of the story, and her love for Martin Warlock is a fascination. Its end seems inevitable, though it means that the girl turns her back on home and husband to save Martin.—*In the Mountains* (Macmillan & Co, 7s. 6d. net) describes the dean's niece in her Swiss holiday home seeking rest after the war. She opens her house to two English ladies, and when the dean comes to take her back to England he falls in love with the younger of them, who is the widow of a German. There is much happy philosophy and quiet humour in the story. The way that love swamps all the prejudices of the dean is both amusing and charming.—*The Luck of the Gold Moidore.* By Donald Maclean. (Allenson, 7s. 6d. net.)

Master Barton, of Plymouth, goes to the Great South Land in quest of gold, and has his fill of perils and adventures. The wild crew mutinies, and there are many fierce and exciting struggles.—*A Maid of Quality*, by Florence Bone, is a family story of unusual interest. Country life and town life are vividly described in the fortunes of the two sisters. Boys will love *For Honour and Freedom*, by J. G. Rowe, with its Viking raids and its chivalrous young Saxon and Dane heroes. It is very much alive.—*The Grit of Life*, by E. W. Walters, is a homely story which warms one's heart to homely folk.—*Hidden Paths*, by W. Scott King, moves among the snares of London life. The brother and sister have many a struggle, but they emerge triumphantly at last. All the books are published by The Epworth Press, at 7s. net.—*Aunt Jane's Hero*, by E. Prentiss; *From Jest to Earnest*, by E. P. Roe; *Vashti*, by A. J. Wilson (Epworth Press, 8s. net), are attractive and high-toned stories by well-known writers, and will be welcomed as gift and reward books. They have bright covers and neat wrappers.—*It is Never too Late to Mend*, by Charles Reade, fills 512 pages, and is sold for 3s. 6d. It has a coloured frontispiece.—The Epworth Press publishes two charming volumes for young readers: *The Redcaps' Annual* (4s. net) is splendidly illustrated in colours and in black and white. Its fables are full of point. *The Kiddies' Annual* (4s. net) has charming pictures, stories, verse, papers of all kinds, and its Squirrels' Corner furnishes a happy link to young friends.—*Angel-Stories*. By A. E. Balch. (Epworth Press. 1s. 6d. net.) A very happy idea worked out with skill and tenderness. 'The Angel that went to Church' is humility; 'The Angel without a Shadow' is joy.—*The Sunday at Home*, 1919-1920. (R.T.S. 18s. 6d. net.) Nothing is lacking that will interest readers of this goodly volume. Its serial, short stories, poems, and articles are all alive and all grip. Miss Bone's 'Little Romances that actually happened' have a charm of their own, and the Editor's pages deal brightly with living topics. The illustrations are specially varied and attractive.—The S.P.C.K.'s Pocket Books and Almanacks for Churchmen in 1921 are very well arranged and adapted to all needs of clergy and laymen. That with band, cash accounts, etc. (8s. 9d. net), is specially useful; the Churchman's Engagement Book (8s. net) is splendidly compact. The Almanacks range from 1s. to 2d. The Calendar, with a quotation for every day in the year (8s. 6d. net), has been prepared by the Misses Anthony, of Liverpool College. The extracts have been made with catholic taste.—The Pocket Diaries and Calendars for 1921, issued by J. Alfred Sharp, are compact, complete, and strongly bound. The Minister's Pocket Book gives many valuable schedules; there is a Diary without these forms. Much Methodist and general information is given in most convenient form.—*The Percy C. Ainsworth Calendar for 1921*. Compiled by Edward Weaver. (Epworth Press. 2s. net.) Percy Ainsworth had an enviable reputation as a preacher, and these golden sayings make us feel how rich was his thought, and how exquisite its phrasing. 'No home is safe unless

faith be the doorkeeper.' 'No man can understand life if he takes it lightly.'—*Methodist Union*. (Epworth Press. 6d. net.) The tentative scheme prepared by the United Committee is here printed with brief explanatory notes. The steps which have thus far been taken by the various Conferences are all recorded. The Rev. E. Aldom French has shown much skill in the preparation of this annotated edition, which will be of great service to all who are considering this living question.—*The Subject Index to Periodicals, 1917-1919*. (A.) *Theology and Philosophy*. (Library Association, Westminster. 7s. 6d. net.) The scope of this list has been extended by the inclusion of folk lore. It is a most careful piece of work, arranged on scientific principles, and will be invaluable for public libraries and students. We owe a debt to the Library Association for taking the big task in hand.—*Music for Everybody*, by Marshall Bartholomew and Robert Lawrence (Abingdon Press, \$1 net), gives clear instruction as to the training of song leaders, practice work, &c. It is well illustrated, and ought to do much to promote social musical gatherings.—*A Year of Recreation*, by Ethel Owen (Abingdon Press, 35 cents net), has a charming programme for each month of the year. February is Washington's birthday month, and the programme is based on that national event. It is a clever scheme and full of fun.—*Good Time for Girls*. By Mary E. Moxcey. (New York Methodist Book Concern. 60 cents net.) These directions for parties and games will give life and zest to many a social gathering of young folk.—The Church Missionary Society publish *The City of Rams*, by G. L. Bendelack (3s. 6d.), a vivid picture of life in Canton; and *A Castaway in Kavirondo* (2s.), with many quaint etchings by A. M. Elverson. The little girl from the edge of Victoria Nyanza suffers much before she escapes from her home to become a Christian. Young readers will be much attracted by these books.

Bulletin of the John Rylands Library. Vol. 5, No. 5. Since the publication of the last list of contributions to the Louvain Library in December upwards of 10,000 volumes have been received. The British contribution seems likely to reach 50,000 volumes. Prof. Herford's lecture on Gabriel d'Annunzio, Dr. Powick's on 'The Saints' Everlasting Rest,' and Dr. Rendel Harris's on 'The Woodpecker in Human Form' are of special interest and value.

Analecta Bollandiana. Tomus 38, Fasc. 3 and 4. The discourse of Eusebius, bishop of Emesa, in Phenicia, from about 340 to 358 A.D., in honour of a mother and two daughters who suffered as martyrs, is printed in full with a valuable introduction by André Wilmart. The legend of St. James of Nisibe, who was one of the fathers of Nicea, is treated with much detail by Paul Peeters, and the Martyrs of Tavium, and the Typicon or monastic rules of the monastery of Lips at Constantinople, by Father Delchaye. The bulletin of hagiographical publications is very full.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

Edinburgh Review (October).—This is a number of great and varied interest. Sir V. Chirol writes on 'The End of the Ottoman Empire.' The methods of the young Turks were as despotic as Abdul Hamid's, and to the vices inherent in Hamidian misrule they added a new spirit of militarism which had been entirely alien to Abdul Hamid's temperament. That the Ottoman empire has deserved its fate cannot be doubted. It has disappeared because it had become an instrument for evil in the world. 'The Climax of Disraeli,' by Walter Sichel, is a splendid tribute. Other articles of special interest are The Pilgrim Fathers; Recent Elections of the French Academy; Direct Action, and the Editor's Population and Progress.

Church Quarterly Review (October).—The Bishop of Gloucester writes on 'Conditional Ordination.' There was a strong tendency among some Anglicans in the confusions of the eighteenth century to make a fresh departure and create a new precedent by falling back on conditional ordination as a solution of the difficulty in which the Church was placed, owing to the growth of dissenting bodies without episcopal ordination and the desire to bring peace to the distracted Church. So far as the bishop is aware there was no precedent for this, and if so it was a bold application of the principle to the new circumstances. Dr. Headlam discusses the Lambeth Conference with a special view to reunion. He pays deserved tribute to the fine Christian spirit, and the determination to look at everything from the point of view of other people as well as ourselves. He refers to the change which careful and critical study has already produced, and pleads for the earnest investigation of all the theological problems which underlie the question of reunion.

Hibbert Journal (October).—Dr. S. H. Mellone, in an article on 'The Price of Progress,' seeks to counteract Dean Inge's pessimism by bidding us to take very broad views of life and history, to be content with a slow movement of advance, and to be willing to pay a heavy price for highest gain. He points to the Cross of Christ, but sees in the Sufferer only a man 'unique in moral power and insight.' Professor Laird, writing on 'Malthus' Devil,' asks whether twenty happy persons are twice as valuable as ten who are equally happy, and answers 'I do not believe a word of it.' Mr. C. G. Montefiore, in dealing with the question 'Has Judaism a Future?' confidently anticipates one for a Liberal Jewish form of Theism, which will not differ much from a Liberal Christian form. Rev. A. R. Osborn, of Melbourne, takes a gloomy view of the future of Pro-

testantism in Australia. He thinks that the projected Reunion of Churches will at best slightly retard the rapid decay of Protestantism and may even hasten the process by dissolving old ties and destroying old sentiments. Dr. Mc'Giffert, of New York, pleads for 'A Teaching Church,' but he does not shed much light upon the problem of how to find the needed teachers of teachers. Other suggestive articles are 'The Pilgrims' Motive and Contribution,' by President Thwing, 'The Theology of John Robinson,' by Prof. Scullard, and 'A Plea for an Extended Lectionary,' by Rev. J. M. Connell. Mr. Connell would include in a new Lectionary Christian devotional writings and even the literature of other faiths, which 'in its way and measure is also inspired of God.' But non-Christian lessons should be rare and exceptional. Whatever may be thought of the drift of some of the articles, this whole number of the Journal is full of interest.

Expository Times (October and November).—'The Church and the Call of the New Era' is the title of an article by Prof. J. M. Shaw, of Halifax, Nova Scotia. The challenge presented to the Church is well described, the suggestions for meeting it are scanty. Dr. Walpole, Bishop of Edinburgh, writes on 'The Communication of the Spirit' and Rev. A. C. Hill on 'The Work of the Spirit.' The articles should be read together, though written quite independently. Rev. D. Mackenzie's appreciation of Dr. James Iverach is timely and well deserved. The paper on 'Temptation,' by the late Bishop of Carlisle, Dr. Diggle, is thoughtful and practical. The permanent features in this excellent magazine—the Editor's Notes of Recent Exposition, 'In the Study,' 'Entre Nous,' and the reviews of books under 'Literature'—continue to furnish a large part of its value.

The Pilgrim (October).—This new 'review of Christian politics and religion' looks attractive, and Canon Temple has enlisted some distinguished contributors. Major-General Sir F. Maurice in 'The Church and Industrial Problems,' says: 'The world is calling aloud to-day for a more practical and sincere application to its affairs of the principles of Christianity.' Dean Inge's 'Mysticism in relation to philosophy and religion' is of great interest; Rev. E. C. Hudson's discussion of 'The Alleged Irrationability of Miracle' shows the inadequacy of the argument against the miraculous element in the Gospels. Canon Temple writes on 'Christian Unity.' He states that 'when the episcopally ordained priest celebrates the Eucharist everything combines to insist that in that mystery is to be found no mere symbol of man's devising, but the actual gift of God, which we by faith discern and appropriate, but which is there through the act of God.'

Science Progress (October).—Hugh Elliott refers to the centenary of Herbert Spencer's birth, and describes him as the founder of scientific psychology. He is not read now, because his scientific work is done, but 'his influence has been enormous.' One article deals with the thyroid gland, which hastens development in the young

and in the adult maintains the working of the body processes at a normal rate. In the aged it probably ceases to function. Every realm of science seems to be kept in view by this valuable review.

The Constructive Quarterly (June).—Prof. Michael's tribute to 'George Gillanders Findlay' is very tender, and gives a delightful picture of a great saint and scholar. (September).—Mgr. Gibier, Bishop of Versailles, regards this as 'The Hour of the Church in France.' Under the pressure of social unrest the country has come to understand that human means and wise relations between authorities and those subject to them, and between capital and labour, do not suffice to destroy antagonisms. It sees that the Christian religion alone has the word of power which can gain recognition for common duties, and supply the balm which heals wounds.

Journal of Theological Studies (July).—The first article contains tables, showing the measure of agreement and disagreement between the MS. of the letters of Basil, as prepared by the late Abbé Bessi  res. It is followed by a paper from Mr. V. Burch on certain new matter, chiefly from Coptic sources, shedding light upon the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Dr. C. F. Burney finds in 1 Macc. iii. 4, 5, the beginning of an acrostic poem in praise of Judas Maccabaeus, which he constructs, the initial letters giving the theme, 'Judas the hammer.' Dr. Kennedy contributes a note giving a proposed emendation in the text of Ps. xxxii. 9, a notoriously difficult verse to construe. The reviews of books in this number are interesting. They include notices of 'The Spirit' (Ed. Streeter), by Dr. A. Nairne, a favourable critique of Oman's 'Grace and Personality,' by Dr. J. K. Mozley, a review by Dr. F. R. Tennant of several volumes dealing with the relations between religion and philosophy. (October).—Mr. C. H. Turner gives an interesting account of the recovery of a Laon MS., a sermon of pseudo-Fulgentius 'De Fluxu Sanguinis,' and he publishes it *in extenso*. Two Wesleyan scholars contribute the next two articles, Rev. T. Stephenson, D.D., on 'Our Lord's Teaching in St. Mark's Gospel' and Prof. J. H. Michael on 'The Interpretation of John i. 18.' Rev. E. C. Butler publishes the first of three articles on the work done during the last few years on the Lausiac History of Palladius, the present instalment dealing with questions of text. Several of the reviews in this number are by Prof. Burkitt, notably one setting forth the difficulties in the way of Dr. R. H. Kennett's somewhat revolutionary views in his 'Deuteronomy and the Decalogue.' Father Connolly writes interestingly on the Odes and Psalms of Solomon, *   propos* of the second edition of Dr. Rendel Harris's work on the subject.

AMERICAN

Princeton Theological Review (July).—The article on Thomas Guthrie, by C. E. Macartney, contains an interesting picture of a notable preacher and social reformer of last century. Dr. B. B.

Warfield contributes a second article (of 60 pages) on 'Miserable-sinner Christianity in the Hands of the Rationalists.' The carefully prepared tables on the Names of God in the Old Testament, prepared by R. D. Wilson, will be found useful. The conclusions to be drawn from them are quite another matter. Professor Van Baalen's article on 'The Ritschlians and the Pre-existence of Christ,' is an instalment of an argument going to show that Ritschl and his followers propound a Christology without a divine Christ. The Survey of Recent Literature is instructive. (October.)—Dr. Warfield's 'Miserable-Sinner Christianity in the Hands of the Rationalists' deals chiefly with Hans Windisch's volume published in 1908, reviving the controversy on Sin and Grace started by Wernle. A second instalment of a discussion of 'The Ritschlians and the Pre-existence of Christ' by J. K. Van Baalen follows. The chief writers here criticized in it are Kaftan and Seeberg. Other articles are 'An Interpretation of Isa. xl. 3,' by J. D. Davis, 'The Name Joseph,' by O. T. Allis, and 'The Churchmanship of W. H. Roberts,' by J. Ross Stevenson.

Harvard Theological Review.—In the October issue two out of the four articles deal, from different points of view, with the history of the Pilgrim Fathers. Dr. Champlin Burrage contributes an interesting study of 'The Earliest Minor Accounts of Plymouth Foundation.' In those narratives he finds valuable archaeological information and suggests the desirability of undertaking further archaeological investigation in the neighbourhood of Plymouth and upon Cape Cod. In 'Plymouth's Debt to the Indians,' Dr. Lincoln N. Kinnicutt describes the treaty made 300 years ago between nine Indian tribes and the Pilgrims as 'an embryo League of Nations.' In his judgement historians have always under-estimated the mental capacity of many of the great chiefs of the American primitive race before it was 'civilized.' He mentions three Indians whose names deserve to be inscribed on a tablet at Plymouth 'in company with Carver, Bradford, Miles Standish, and Winslow.' 'Theology and Romanticism,' by Dr. Herbert L. Stewart, begins by showing that three new ideas were represented in some form by writers of the Romantic School; a widely prevalent distrust of human reason, a deepened feeling for history, and the assertion of the trustworthiness of 'the impulse of the heart.' In the latter part of the essay some elements of romanticism are seen to have tended to reaction and others to progress, but its imprint, for both good and evil, is still on each branch of Christendom.

Methodist Quarterly Review (Nashville) (October.)—Dr. F. M. Thomas, the recently appointed editor, provides a varied and attractive bill of fare in the fifteen articles of this number. The first, by C. D. Harris, describes 'Some Vital Needs of the Hour,' and enforces the practical lesson that 'Christianity is the only force that can conquer the world's ills.' Professor F. G. Peabody, of Harvard, in 'The Theologian in a New World,' discourses on similar themes

from the point of view of the thinker and the theologian. Students of philosophy will find an excellent exposition of Benedetto Croce in the paper written by Prof. Wildon Carr, of London University. Amongst subjects specially interesting to American readers we notice a sketch of Dean Hodges, 'A Friendly Consideration of the Negro,' a paper on Education in Mexico, and some reminiscences of 'Uncle Remus,' beloved by children of all ages. Articles of general interest include one on 'The Catacombs of Rome' and another entitled 'Studies in the Philosophy of William James.' The department of Exegesis contains a vivacious paper on Koheleth, better known as Ecclesiastes, in reply to Prof. Jastrow's book, 'A Gentle Cynic.'

Bibliotheca Sacra (October).—Mr. Wiener brings his important series on the Pentateuch to a close. Dr. Lindsay writes on 'The Ethics of some Modern World-Theories.' The best possible world-theory of Leibniz; the world-will theory of Schopenhauer; Hartmann's world-theory of the Unconscious and of modern Naturalism. The Passing of Marxism is another article of interest in this varied number.

FOREIGN

Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques.—The leading articles are on the unity of the divine and human elements in the act of faith, and on some early Dominican doctors of divinity in Paris and Oxford—Roland de Crémone, Hughes de Saint-Cher, Richard Fishacre, Robert de Kilwardby, &c. There is also an extended note on the goddess Anath, who figures in the Song of Deborah. In the Bulletin's current literature, filling upwards of 100 pages, on social philosophy, the history of Grecian, mediæval, and modern philosophy, and on speculative, systematic, and mystical theology, is scientifically classified and skilfully reviewed. The obituaries, we regret to note, contain the well-known names of Professors Wilhelm Bousset, of Giessen; Carl Heinrich Cornill, of Halle, and Wilhelm Wundt, of Leipsic.

Hindustan Review (July).—An interesting sketch adapted from the *Tribune* is given of Mr. Shadi Lal, the first Indian Chief Justice, who was a distinguished student at Balliol and a special prizeman at Gray's Inn. On returning to India he won a high reputation as an advocate, and this he has well maintained as a judge.

Calcutta Review (July).—Mr. E. F. Oaten discusses 'England's Indian Policy.' He says, 'India is not, and will not perhaps for decades, be ready for the full draught of the wine of liberty, parliamentarianism, and self-government.' There must be some tutelage and support for many years. 'The country is full of lawless and anarchic elements, of smouldering jealousies and communal hatreds, which will ruin utterly any development that is not gradual.'

